

## MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

### Peacebuilding for faith-based development organisations informing theory and practice

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# **Peacebuilding for Faith-Based Development Organisations: Informing Theory and Practice**

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**Jun 2015**

***A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the University's  
requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy***

Coventry University

## **Abstract**

This thesis examines the hypothesis that Faith-Based Development Organisations are best placed to engage with faith actors in post-conflict settings where faith has been a component of the violent conflict, but Faith-Based Development Organisations lack the theoretical perspective to engage in this activity effectively.

This work undertakes a critical review of current literature with regard to conflict sensitive development activity and how this informs current theory and practice of faith-based engagement in post conflict settings and examines the work of two Faith-Based Organisations working in Acholiland, Northern Uganda with regard to their engagement with faith congregations in a post-conflict setting and in the context of other Faith-Based NGO activity.

Through the use of field interviews and an analysis of project activities using a faith-focussed questionnaire, peace and conflict impact assessments and most significant change stories this research has posited a theoretical framework for faith-based peacebuilding activity by faith-based development organisations. I then identify how this theoretical framework could be used in practice development for inter-faith and faith-based peacebuilding activities. The research highlights an ethical approach in peacebuilding activities which underpins the importance of partnership, humility and the incorporation of local 'theories of change' in project design. The research has implications for international NGOs whether secular or faith-based, and identifies the need of closer partnership working with local NGOs whose personal experience of living and working in a faith context is an under-utilised resource.

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During this research two former colleagues and friends of mine Tom Little and Dan Terry were murdered in the Badakhshan area of Afghanistan whilst returning from a medical field trip. They had both served the people of Afghanistan for decades and had both raised their families in that country. They have been a source of inspiration and motivation for me as I have worked on this theory of inter-faith peacebuilding through their commitment, their dedication and their love for the Afghan people. They demonstrated practically the art of building bridges across faiths. This thesis is dedicated to their memories.

Tom Little and Dan Terry died August 5<sup>th</sup> 2010, Badakhshan, Afghanistan

Also

Seija Jarvenpaa and Kaija Liisa Martin died 4<sup>th</sup> July 2014, Herat, Afghanistan

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## Terms, Abbreviations and Acronyms

ARLPI	Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative
CAR	Central African Republic
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Accord
CORD	Christian Outreach Relief and Development
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DfiD	Department for International Development
DP	Democratic Party
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EPISTELS	Conflict Assessment Tool used by CORD
FAP	Formerly Abducted Person
FBO	Faith-Based Organisation
FBDO	Faith-Based Development Organisation
FoNU	Friends of Northern Uganda
GoU	Government of Uganda
JOAC	Jersey Overseas Aid Committee
HSMF	Holy Spirit Movement Force
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP	Internally Displaced People
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IO	International Organisation
IYEP	Information for Youth Empowerment Programme

## Peacebuilding for Faith-Based Development Organisations

KITWO BEE	Kitgum Women Beekeeper's Association
LNGO	Local Non-Governmental Organisation
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRM	National Resistance Movement
PCIA	Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment
PSC	Protracted Social Conflict
PWL	Peace Writ Large
pwl	peace writ little
SGBV	Sexual Gender-Based Violence
UN	United Nations
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Force
USAID	United States of America International Development

# Introduction

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## 1.0 Faith-Based Development and Inter-Faith Peacebuilding

Faith is a key component of global contemporary culture; despite secularisation theory's hypotheses that faith and religion would become less significant in the daily lives of the world's inhabitants the opposite is true. Today, around the world faith, religion and religious practices are normative parts of the existence of billions of people (Gopin 2000: 3). Faith and religion are also seen as key motivators for people in their actions and behaviours influencing their reactions to circumstances in their daily lives. The motivation of faith can serve to produce self-sacrificing behaviour on the part of its adherents and can be witnessed in the two ends of a spectrum whereby someone will attach explosives to their bodies in order to kill or maim as many others as possible, or risk their lives by mediating between violent factions engaged in civil war in order to bring peace. Both types of behaviour can be inspired by a spiritual and moral motivation, and both involve facing death or the possibility of death for the sake of their beliefs (Appleby 2000).

Faith and religion have also been motivators for the provision of assistance to those in need. The World Health Organisation commented in 2007 that 40% of all health assistance in sub-Saharan Africa was provided by Faith-Based Organisations (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011: 11). Some organisations have moved away from their religious origins such as Oxfam, but nonetheless faith-based organisations play a large part in the world of development assistance globally. I spent 6 years working for a faith-based development organisation working out of Kabul, Afghanistan. Of this I spent 4 years leading a community-based mental health project based in Herat and 2 years managing a disaster management programme based in Kabul. I did not have a development background and so undertook a very steep learning curve, but had the opportunity to experience at first-hand many of the issues that Faith-Based Development Organisations grapple with in their work, and experienced the strengths, and challenges of working within the NGO sector as it undertook to increase professionalism and accountability.

During my work in Afghanistan the areas of conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding as part of development activity became more prominent amongst the development community, particularly in Afghanistan where International intervention had contributed to the ongoing violence between

different factions fighting for supremacy within the country. In 1999 when I began working in Afghanistan the Taliban were engaged in a holy Jihad to take over the country from the Northern Alliance and to impose their understanding of a fundamental Islamic practice on the rest of an ethnically and culturally diverse population. The fighting of the Taliban continues although their opposition has changed in the 9 years since I was based in Afghanistan; however faith and religion continues to be one of the key motivators in their continuing armed struggle.

Following the change in administration in 2001 after the 'shock and awe' campaign conducted by US and UK forces there was a large influx of International NGOs within the country. One faith-based NGO from South Korea endeavoured to undertake a peacebuilding activity amongst the youth of different tribal groups in the Shamoli valley just north of Kabul. The activity involved the young men staying together in a youth camp to learn more about each other, and to build bridges between different ethnic groups. These groups would have included members of the Hazara ethnic group who were of a Shia Muslim background as opposed to the majority Sunni Muslim background within the country. The headquarters of the INGO was attacked with mortar fire and incendiary devices shortly after the commencement of the programme. The INGO had to close down its activities and all personnel returned to South Korea. This served to highlight for me the potential role that FBOs have as peacebuilders within a post-conflict context, but also the naivety and lack of theoretical grounding that some organisations have to undertake peacebuilding activities. Any basic assessment of the country and with partner communities would have highlighted that endeavouring to do anything with Afghan 'youth' was going to be highly emotive amongst community leaders. In addition this sort of camp was reminiscent of activities undertaken during a Soviet administration and would be considered to be brainwashing of young men. There was only going to be a hostile response to this activity.<sup>1</sup>

Working in this context made me acutely aware of our role as a faith-based development organisation in trying to bring development and socio-economic change into a deeply divided country. I was aware that very few personnel had an understanding of conflict-sensitive development and in fact found the day to day struggle of keeping a project running and meeting

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<sup>1</sup> This incident took place in mid-2002. Different tribal groups co-exist within the Shamoli valley which was devastated during the Soviet-Afghan conflict in 1992. The devastation continued as opposing factions fought to take over Kabul once the Soviets had left. The honour of an Afghan man is held by the women of his family and in his sons. Any 'attack' upon the family is seen as an attack upon his honour. It will be fiercely defended.

its contractual obligations with donors difficult enough, without having to think about conflict analyses as well. It was a deeply frustrating time personally as I sought to develop the capacity of the organisation in this area, and found little leverage for a resource-stretched organisation doing the best they could in extremely difficult circumstances.

On my return to the UK and whilst undertaking my Masters in Peace and Reconciliation studies I became increasingly aware of the potential for conflict-sensitive peacebuilding by faith-based development organisations, particularly where faith has been a component of the conflict scenario. I was also aware of the lack of skills, adequately trained personnel, finance and resources which would enable FBDOs to rise to the challenge and engage meaningfully in faith-based and inter-faith peacebuilding. Additionally few FBDOs recognised their potential for faith-based peacebuilding and consequently it is not a normative feature of FBDO engagement. Meeting this gap between challenge, and skills and understanding has been the motivation for me in engaging in this research project. In undertaking this research I have continually had the context of Afghanistan in mind, and have endeavoured to develop theoretical understanding which could contribute to faith-based peacebuilding in such a context. Although I have completed my research examining FBDOs in Northern Uganda there are similarities between the conflict contexts of the two countries; such as the protracted nature of the conflict, and the role of religion in promoting violence.

## **1.1 Some thoughts on Faith and Religion**

Religion and faith are often used as interchangeable terms. Religion is more than a set of beliefs, or even a cultural system: it includes embodied practices and power to maintain an institutionalised structure with a 'community of believers' (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011: 22). Deneulin and Rakodi state that religion is dynamic, and interpretations of core beliefs and how they impact the lives of individuals and institutions are contested (2011: 23). Appleby tells us that religion is 'capable of forming social identity and influencing subsequent behaviour in profound ways' (2000: 9). Faith is defined in the dictionary as 'belief and trust in God; belief and trust in the traditional doctrines of a religion'. Or faith can be 'something that is believed, especially with a strong conviction'.

Religion has also come to be associated with institutional structures, dogma, rituals, creeds and practices, whereas 'faith' has been related more to personal belief, covering other models of belief other than the larger institutional religions such as Christianity, Islam and Judaism. In common parlance people often would not describe themselves as religious, but would describe themselves as people of faith. With regards to development activities organisations that come from a religious motivation are generally termed 'faith-based', and consequently it seems appropriate to refer to 'faith' within the body of this thesis rather than 'religion'. This use of the word 'faith' also allows the inclusion of non-institutional religions such as Zoroastrianism or African Traditional Religions which do not have established structures and hierarchies or recorded scriptures.

In most literature on these subjects, authors do not appear to be particularly consistent or rigorous in their use of the term 'religion' or 'faith', nor with cognate terms such as 'faith-based' or 'religious' with respect to organisations or activities such as peacebuilding. As mentioned above, within the body of this thesis I will refer to faith, faith leaders, faith communities and faith congregations as opposed to naming specific religions or using the epithet religious, apart from when used by my case studies or in interviews. I will also use the term religion when quoting other authors and academics who use this term as opposed to faith. In accordance with this definition then faith-based peacebuilding is comprised of the activities carried out to develop peace in a conflict or post-conflict setting by faith actors. It then follows that inter-faith peacebuilding is comprised of the activities carried out to develop peace in a conflict or post-conflict setting by faith actors with others of different faith backgrounds. In this thesis I seek to demonstrate a theoretical approach to inter-faith peacebuilding to inform and develop the work of those engaged in this work.

## **2.0 Introducing the Research Background**

Alongside the growth in conflict-sensitive programming in theory and in practice has been a growing recognition of the role of faith-based development organisations and the contribution they are able to make to development. Coupled with this growing recognition is a corresponding awareness of the positive impact that faith actors can have upon conflict scenarios. Some examples show that faith-based development organisations do have a unique role to play in working with people of all faith-backgrounds in promoting peace as a result of the peace ethic



which can be identified in all faiths. However, the literature on this role is limited and there has been little research conducted into the role that Faith-Based Development Organisations (FBDOs) might make in the field of development (Willis 2009), and consequently in the area of faith-based peacebuilding. Most of the literature on the work of faith-based organisations gives examples of practice, and some organisations have published reports on their experiences to contribute to institutional learning and knowledge. USAID has produced a toolkit for use by its employees as a secular employer to overcome their reticence of working with faith and faith actors in peacebuilding, and highlighting the importance of engaging with faith issues giving some guidance on working with faith communities (Moberg, Hunsicker and Walker 2009). However, there is very little which focuses on a theoretical approach to an engagement with faith actors for the purposes of peacebuilding by FBDOs. Most academic material focuses on conflict-sensitive approaches to development work, but does not specifically focus on faith and engaging with faith communities. If faith is mentioned at all it is usually subsumed under the category of 'cultural' issues.

Most development activities taking place within the 'global south' are conducted in countries where faith is a normative part of life. Equally, many development activities are now taking place in countries which are struggling with intra-state conflicts. Many of these intra-state conflicts have components where faith and religion have been actively used to promote the use of violence against the 'other' (Kadayifci-Orellana 2009). Consequently it would be appropriate for faith-based development organisations to seek to undertake projects with peacebuilding impacts that promote the peace ethic within different faiths, and remove or significantly impact one of the factors that contribute towards the justification of violent resolution of conflicts (Gopin 2000).

I have identified a gap in a theoretical approach to inter-faith peacebuilding, which would serve to assist FBDOs in the potential role as faith-based peacebuilders in areas where faith is a normative part of culture. This theoretical approach could be used to develop further practical material to enable faith-based development organisations in this difficult task. In this research I have identified a theoretical approach to conflict-sensitive inter-faith peacebuilding, which would enable the development of suitable practical tools and policies to enable FBDOs in their work as a faith-based peacebuilder.

## 2.1 Research Questions, Aims, and Objectives

In examining this area of research I am seeking to explore the following hypothesis: A theoretical framework of reference for FBDOs is needed to underpin peacebuilding in conflict and post-conflict environments. Inter-faith peacebuilding through development activities is a role uniquely suited to FBDOs; this role would be enhanced through the establishment of a theoretical framework of reference with regard to appropriate levels of engagement with faith actors.

I intend to examine this hypothesis through the following aims, objectives and questions.

The overall *aims* of the research are:

- 1) To strengthen analysis of conflict-sensitive approaches to inter-faith peacebuilding; and
- 2) To develop a theoretical framework of reference for FBDOs working on inter-faith peacebuilding.

In achieving these aims I believe that this dissertation makes the following contributions:

1. To analyse and critique existing theories and practice of peacebuilding with regard to FBDOs and inter-faith peacebuilding activity
2. To increase understanding of transferable principles of faith-based peacebuilding from specific case studies
3. To increase understanding of local perspectives on change and peacebuilding in a faith context
4. To develop theoretical principles for engaging in inter-faith peacebuilding
5. To examine the theoretical and practical difficulties and advantages in developing a toolkit for FBDOs

I intend to achieve these aims through answering the following research questions:

1. How do practices for assisting other organisations develop conflict-sensitive activities relate to FBDOs? Does work with faith actors in either faith-based or inter-faith peacebuilding require new guidelines?
2. How do two specific Faith-Based Organisations in Uganda relate to issues of faith and religion in the conflict context in which they are sited; what roles have they taken as peacebuilders within this context and how has this related to faith and religion? How do

these two organisations fit alongside other FBOs engaged in peace and conflict resolution activities in Northern Uganda?

3. What are the underlying theories of change which guide the work of these organisations?
4. What are the significant changes that these organisations have brought into a situation and how have these impacted the factors that promote peace and conflict?
5. How can peacebuilding impacts upon faith attitudes, actions and behaviours be measured to enable appropriate engagement by FBDOs?
6. What are the theoretical issues that need to be addressed for FBDOs engaged in inter-faith peacebuilding; and what theoretical and practical issues need to be considered in the development of a toolkit to assist FBDOs in inter-faith peacebuilding?

In seeking to answer these questions I believe that I have been able to develop a suitable theoretical framework of reference for FBDOs seeking to engage in inter-faith peacebuilding activities.

## **2.2 Structure of the Thesis**

Within the research hypothesis, aims, contributions and questions are a number of issues that will be addressed throughout the course of this thesis. Chapter One gives an analysis of the role of FBDOs in faith-based peacebuilding and examines the challenges and opportunities that exist for them in the task of faith-based peacebuilding and provides a flexible definition of FBDOs to account for their diversity. Chapter Two will provide the theoretical background to this thesis. It will also provide a literature review of current thinking with regards to faiths and peacebuilding, conflict-sensitive development activities and the current academic theory on the role of FBDOs in peacebuilding. In this chapter I will analyse and critique some of the current peacebuilding theories and mechanisms for conflict-sensitive project implementation with reference to faith-based development activities and inter-faith peacebuilding, addressing question one and the first of my contributions to this subject. Chapter Two gives an overview of the main theoretical aspects that underpin the rest of the thesis and highlights the paradigms that I shall be using in my analysis.

The methodological approach to this research is outlined in Chapter Three, as I look at the issues around research in the field of peacebuilding, and highlight the approach that I will adopt in undertaking this research, and explain why using a 'most different' case study is most appropriate alongside a mapping exercise of FBDOs engaged in peace and conflict resolution activities. This chapter also identifies the choice of case-study material, the locations of these two case-studies and the methods I use to answer the questions and achieve the objectives of this research. I give a description of all the evaluation tools and research questions used, and also give an overview of the field conditions during the research. In this chapter I will begin to address question two and begin to elaborate upon the second of my contributions to this subject.

Chapter Four outlines the background to the conflict context, and gives an overview of FBDOs engaged in peace and conflict resolution activities analysing their work against faith engagement and their peacebuilding role. The 'most dissimilar' case study is outlined in detail in Chapter Five. The two organisations are the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) a locally-based multi-faith peacebuilding organisation, and Christian Outreach Relief and Development (CORD), an international NGO engaged in humanitarian response and development activities to foster peacebuilding. Chapter Four and Five seek to answer questions two, three and four, begin to answer question five, and to begin the second and third elements of my contribution to this subject.

In Chapter Six I give a brief overview of a theoretical approach to inter-faith peacebuilding by FBDOs and examine some of the challenges in developing a toolkit for FBDOs to undertake inter-faith and faith-based peacebuilding. This theoretical framework enables FBDOs to locate themselves on a spectrum of inter-faith activity which is dependent upon the local conflict context, faith dividers and faith capacities, the development intervention and the organisations chosen role as a peacebuilder within that context. Chapter Six seeks to answer question five and six and to outline contribution four and examine my fifth contribution to this field.

The conclusions and recommendations in Chapter Seven attempt to summarise the research, but also draw out implications of this research, and highlight areas of further research that are necessary to enable faith-based development organisations to fully embrace a role as an inter-faith peacebuilder. Chapter Seven also highlights the extent to which the hypothesis has been

proved, and to what extent the aims and objectives of the research have been met and the questions answered.

Through this structure I have met the overall aims of the thesis to strengthen analysis of conflict-sensitive approaches for inter-faith peacebuilding; and will demonstrate a theoretical approach to inter-faith peacebuilding for FBDOs. The structure is outlined in Table 1.1 below.

**Table 1.1 Thesis Structure and Relationship with Research Objective and Questions**

<b>Chapter</b>	<b>Research Contribution</b>	<b>Research Question</b>
<b>One: Challenges for FBDOs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To analyse and critique existing theories and practice of peacebuilding with regard to FBDOs and inter-faith peacebuilding activity</li> </ul>	1 Does work with faith actors in either faith-based or inter-faith peacebuilding require new guidelines?
<b>Two: Theoretical Context</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To analyse and critique existing theories and practice of peacebuilding with regard to FBDOs and inter-faith peacebuilding activity</li> </ul>	1 How do practices for assisting other organisations develop conflict-sensitive activities relate to faith-based development organisations?
<b>Three: Methodology</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To increase understanding of transferable principles of faith-based peacebuilding from specific case studies</li> </ul>	2 How do two specific faith-based organisations in Uganda relate to issues of faith and religion in the conflict context in which they are sited; what roles have they taken as peacebuilders within this context and how has this related to faith and religion? How do these two organisations fit alongside other FBOs engaged in peace and conflict resolution activities in Northern Uganda?
<b>Chapter Four: Mapping Exercise</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To increase understanding of transferable principles of faith-based peacebuilding from specific case studies</li> </ul>	2 How do these two organisations fit alongside other FBOs engaged in peace and conflict resolution activities in Northern Uganda?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To increase understanding of local perspectives on change and peacebuilding in a faith context</li> <li>• To develop theoretical principles for engaging in inter-faith peacebuilding</li> </ul>	
<b>Chapter Five: Case Studies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To increase understanding of transferable principles of faith-based peacebuilding from specific case studies</li> <li>• To increase understanding of local perspectives on change and peacebuilding in a faith context</li> <li>• To develop theoretical principles for engaging in inter-faith peacebuilding</li> </ul>	<p>2. How do two specific faith-based organisations in Uganda relate to issues of faith and religion in the conflict context in which they are sited; what roles have they taken as peacebuilders within this context and how has this related to faith and religion? How do these two organisations fit alongside other FBOs engaged in peace and conflict resolution activities in Northern Uganda?</p> <p>3. What are the underlying theories of change which guide the work of these organisations?</p> <p>4. What are the significant changes that these organisations have brought into a situation and how have these impacted the factors that promote peace and conflict?</p> <p>5. How can peacebuilding impacts upon faith attitudes, actions and behaviours be measured to enable appropriate engagement by FBDOs?</p>
<b>Chapter Six: A Theoretical Framework</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To increase understanding of transferable principles of faith-based peacebuilding from specific case studies</li> <li>• To increase understanding of local</li> </ul>	<p>6. What are the theoretical issues that need to be addressed for FBSOs engaged in inter-faith peacebuilding; and what theoretical and practical issues need to be considered in the development of a toolkit to assist FBDOs in inter-faith peacebuilding?</p>

	<p>perspectives on change and peacebuilding in a faith context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• To develop theoretical principles for engaging in inter-faith peacebuilding</li><li>• To examine the theoretical and practical difficulties and advantages in developing a toolkit for faith-based development organisations</li></ul>	
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# **Chapter One - Faith-Based Development Organisations and Inter-Faith Peacebuilding: Opportunities, Dilemmas and Challenges**

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## **1.0 Introduction**

Research on the roles of development NGOs in peacebuilding, with a specific focus on FBDOs, has to acknowledge the complexities of the field of study. Neither NGOs nor FBDOs nor peacebuilding are simple objects of research, and where they overlap and interact, the complexity is intensified. In addition, the efficacy and role of NGOs and FBOs in humanitarian aid and development as well as their impact upon conflict and peace are highly disputed. Both secular and faith-based organisations face an array of challenges and dilemmas, which they experience in differing proportions dependent upon their size, function, background and mandate.

In this chapter, I intend to examine the existing theories and practice of peacebuilding with regard to FBDOs and inter-faith peacebuilding activity, to explore local perspectives on change and peacebuilding in a faith context and to start my formulation of theoretical principles for engaging in inter-faith peacebuilding. I intend to do this by addressing the research question: How relevant for FBDOs are the various practices that other organisations adopt to develop conflict-sensitive activities? Does work with faith actors in either faith-based or inter-faith peacebuilding require new guidelines? In addition this chapter will explore the specific challenges that face FBDOs seeking to engage in inter-faith peacebuilding such as impact on attitudes, actions and behaviours, and measurement of change. These questions are made more complex as not only is every conflict context unique and specific to the area in which it takes place, but each FBDO too has its own unique DNA, which shapes its approach, programming interventions and capacity to undertake conflict sensitive programming. Through exploring these issues I identify the theoretical issues that need to be addressed for FBDOs engaged in inter-faith peacebuilding; and what theoretical and practical issues would need to be considered in the development of an approach to assist FBDOs in inter-faith peacebuilding.

## 2.0 Identifying FBDs

FBOs from the Global North are comparatively easy to identify. As they originate from a 'secular' worldview international FBOs are generally keen to demonstrate their faith allegiance in the field. Hence the organisations that we know as Christian Aid, Islamic Relief, and TEARFUND (The Evangelical Alliance Relief Fund) are easily identifiable as FBOs. Equally, other large faith-based NGOs such as World Vision identify very clearly on their websites and other publicity material the basis of their motivation to engage in development issues in the Global South. However, Bouta et al. comment that for organisations originating from a culture where faith is normative, these faith labels are far less common, and organisations may have a faith-background or motivation, but do not advertise this through the name of the organisation or in their communications. This is because everyone has a faith and consequently all are motivated to some extent by the tenets and practices of that faith tradition.

Clarke has listed a typology of Faith-Based Organisations who seek to work with or engage with the poor in developing countries. These include:

- 1) Representative bodies for different faith groups that provide doctrinal instruction on faith matters.
- 2) Charitable or Development Organisations that work with and engage the poor and seek to tackle social exclusion.
- 3) Socio-Political organisations which employ faith as a political or socio-cultural construct and seek to mobilise communities around these identities.
- 4) Missionary organisations seeking to disseminate key faith messages.
- 5) Illegal or Terrorist organisations who use faith to promote and justify the use of violence and armed struggle. (Clarke 2006: 840).

This typology represents the variety of FBOs working in a development context. Many FBOs may operate across categories, so that a socio-political organisation may also work as a development organisation, or in the case of some development organisations in Uganda, combine its development activities with illegal activities (Haynes 2005: 1325). In this thesis I specifically

examine the role of FBDOs and their role in peacebuilding. However this typology is helpful in understanding the depth and breadth of different FBOs that are found in different post-conflict and development contexts and in demonstrating the potential local partners for FBDOs wanting to engage in peacebuilding activities.

The variety and diversity of NGOs is mirrored and exacerbated by differences between FBDOs. Far from being a homogeneous group, FBDOs are marked by differences in faith-background, theology, and practice, as well as in resource base for personnel, funding and technical expertise. It is also evident that the organisations' "characteristics, ability to operate and the way that faith is manifest in their activities" is context-specific and dependent upon the prevailing administration and conflict-context (Rakodi 2012b: 627). Consequently, it is not always possible to clearly identify a 'faith-based' or 'secular' organisation where faith is one of many components that make up the identity of an organisation in a context where faith is normative (Rakodi 2012b: 627). However, I will now outline a working definition of FBDOs' to assist in the analysis of the factors which strengthen and challenge.

## **2.1 Defining FBDOs**

Bradley, in her work on FBDOs placed them upon two axes. The first is a continuum of how faith shapes the theory and practice of the organisation, ranging from a secular organisation to an evangelical mission agency. The second reflects their size and their donor power, which also affects their ability to relate to grassroots organisations (Bradley 2009: 102).

The result is demonstrated in Fig 1.1

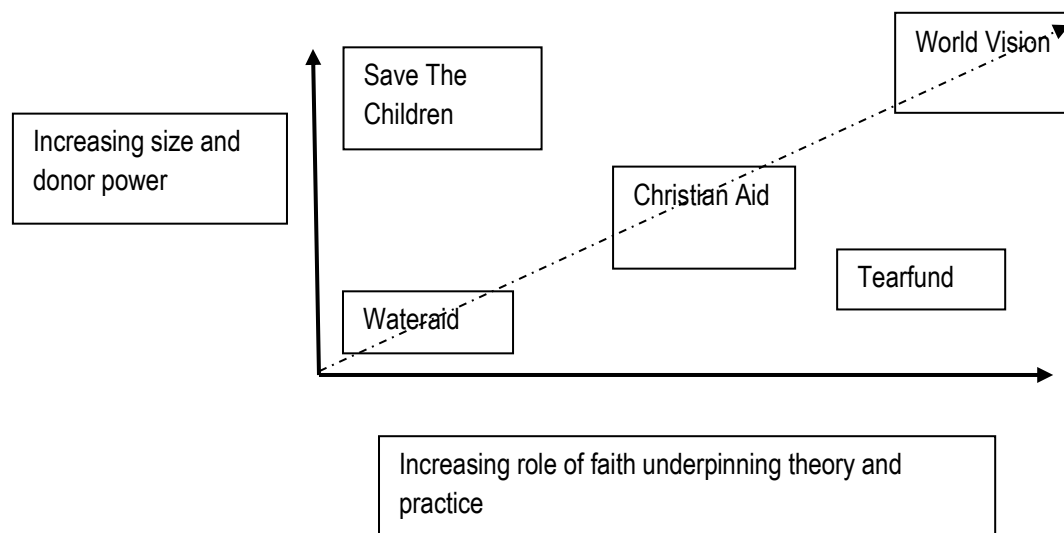


Fig 1.1 Defining FBDOs according to Bradley's Spectrum

Bradley understands an FBDO to be one in which 'faith is embedded into the organizational structures producing a diversity of approaches to development practice' (2009: 102). Bouta et al. posit alternative definitions of FBDOs which would show more measurable characteristics than embedded faith, and furthermore highlight that due to the variety and diversity of FBDOs more than one definition might be necessary dependent upon origin and location of the FBDO. Bouta et al. state that international FBDOs very often are clearly identifiable as faith-based as they advertise this on their websites, and as part of their literature. In contrast, local organisations may not call themselves faith-based, but where faith and culture and its expression are intertwined, then the roots and drivers for their practice come from their personal understanding of their faith and how it is outworked in their particular culture and context. Consequently they are faith-based in practice, even if they do not identify themselves as such (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: 7).

Bouta et al. use a flexible definition of 'faith-based' dependent upon the context in which the agency is found, and they also differentiate between Christian and Muslim organisations, in that in their study Christian organisations tended to be international NGOs and the Muslim organisations tended to be local NGOs. A Muslim organisation was identified as such if it:

identified itself as such, operated in a majority-Muslim area, was led by a Muslim religious actor; included Muslim leaders as equal partners, used Islamic values, teaching and practices in conflict resolution, and is led by, or established by, Muslims inspired by Islamic values. Christian or multi-faith actors were identified on the basis of: their religious affiliation and resource base, their religious values that inspire their peacebuilding work, the use of religious resources in their peacebuilding work, the deliberate cooperation with religious actors as their counterparts, and the presence of religious clerics and/or laymen among their staff. I would posit that the definition of Muslim FBDOs could be adapted to be used for all local FBDOs where faith is a normative part of culture thus:

- Identifies itself as a faith-based development organisation and/or
- Operates in a majority religion area by members of that faith and/or
- Is run by a faith actor and/or
- Includes faith leaders as equal partners and/or
- Uses faith values, teaching and practices in conflict resolution and/or
- Led by, or established by faith leaders inspired by faith values

This definition is an expansion of the one posited by Bouta et al.(2005: 6) and would also fit for areas where Hinduism, Sikhism, Christianity or Judaism is the majority faith in a developing world context. However, in adopting this definition, it must be noted that in many contexts faith and FBOs or FBDOs cannot be 'compartmentalised' from 'secular' activity, because of the normative nature of that faith (Rakodi 2012b: 624).

## **2.2 Comparative Advantage of FBDOs in Development**

The role of religion in development, and the impact of faith upon peacebuilding initiatives have received increasing scrutiny in recent years (Smock 2001). FBOs such as Christian Aid and Care International began in the inter-war period but grew significantly after World War II (Ferris 2005: 314), and since this time FBOs have contributed substantially to humanitarian and development aid (Ferris 2005: 315). Along with secular organisations, Faith-based organisations have increasingly begun to support the work of local institutions overseas through capacity building and

empowerment (Ferris 2005: 316). At the turn of the millennium, 50% of education and health work was undertaken by FBOs in sub-Saharan Africa (Clarke 2006: 837) and the big four international FBDOs had a combined annual turnover of US \$2.5 billion in the year 2000 (Clarke 2006: 841). It has been argued that the figures regarding FBO activity are unreliable, and that they have been exaggerated by policy-makers, and have not taken account of the quality and distribution of services offered (Rakodi 2012b: 631). Whatever the full extent of the role of FBDOs in development may be, there has been an increasing acceptance of the role of FBDOs in a cultural context where faith is normative which has prompted major donors such as USAID to engage proactively with FBOs (Moberg, Hunsicker and Walker 2009: 1).

It is for the above reasons that it has been suggested that FBOs may have a comparative advantage over 'secular' NGOs, and there has consequently been research into the area of 'comparative advantage'. Rakodi states that it is impossible to state simply whether FBDOs have a comparative advantage or not and that this difficulty is related to four different factors. These include:

- a) The difficulty of defining whether an organisation is an FBDO or not.
- b) The variety and complexity of faith traditions and their concomitant organisations.
- c) The context in which the organisation operates.
- d) The difficulties paramount in analysing performance and measuring development outcomes.

Rakodi concludes that rather than ask whether FBDOs have comparative advantage over secular organisations it is better to highlight the distinctive quality of the resources and capacities that they can bring to the development process (Rakodi 2012a: 642).

## **3.0 Informing Faith-Based Peacebuilding in Development**

### **3.1 Context Complexity**

The complexity of conflict settings and the variety of differing humanitarian and relief organisations is such that when considering a theoretical framework for inter-faith peacebuilding, or developing a toolkit to assist FBDOs in this work, researchers are faced with the issues of

transferability of theories and concepts into different conflict settings by organisations of varying capabilities (De Zeeuw 2001: 6). Each conflict setting and scenario is unique; the people involved face different issues, have different histories and form their own narrative that cannot be simply influenced by a step by step guide to inter-faith peacebuilding. However, despite the complexities that face development organisations in their unique situations, NGOs and FBDOs still endeavour to undertake interventions that positively contribute to the development of their partner communities. In implementing development activities many NGOs established best practice to assist them in their programming to increase the probability of a successful outcome (Goodhand 2006: 5). Different aspects of good practice might include: 'community participation'; or 'rights-based approaches' to project development: and may include administrative practices such as 'project cycle management. These are aspects of good practice that are transferable.

### **3.2 Tools for Development and Peacebuilding**

Good practice concepts are often incorporated into policy or procedural documents and referred to as 'tools', on the premise that they assist in the design and successful implementation of development interventions. These 'tools' often take the form of templates for project design; such as the logical framework; or a procedure for monitoring and evaluation, such as the 'Most Significant Change' method of evaluation. Logical frameworks take the form of a table and are aimed at assisting project designers to consider the aims, objectives and outcomes of a project when cross-referenced against ways of measuring success and forms of verifying this data. The logical framework has been adopted by many donors and adapted especially for their purposes, so that the logical framework used by the EU in its application forms is significantly different from the logical framework used by DFID, although they are based upon the same principles.<sup>2</sup> The 'Most Significant Change' method of evaluation comes with a more complex procedural flow-chart to ensure collection of appropriate data for evaluation, and the use of such data once it has been collated. NGOs and FBDOs can and do use a variety of such templates and procedures to aid them in their programme design. Occasionally NGOs develop their own tools and collate them in a 'toolkit' for use by their own organisation, to ensure a consistent standard of programme design and intervention.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Personal experience as a fundraiser for an International NGO

<sup>3</sup> CARE International, OXFAM, ACTIONAID all have in-house documents for use by all their international offices.

There remain many concerns with the various tools available to organisations involved in the task of peacebuilding. The logical framework for example has been criticised for being too rigid and stifling innovation (Hoffman 2006: 6). Primarily, as stated earlier, there are questions around the applicability of the tools to specific contexts. As a result the tools that have been developed more recently seek to use transferable principles rather than definitive step-by-step guidance. However the concern in the academic world is that although the development of adequate and suitable tools has progressed, they are not being used appropriately. This inappropriate use of tools is a major issue with regards to conflict-sensitive practice. What is needed is the adoption of a broad approach which is more than any one tool or toolkit can deliver (Barbolet et al. 2005a: 9).

Within the world of Peace and Conflict Impact Assessments (PCIA's) there has been debate about the use of a tool which can be used to aid programming interventions in post-conflict settings. Hoffman comments that the PCIA needs appropriate indicators to assist organisations in developing their programming interventions (2006: 17). However, Bush states that such indicators can only be prepared on-site by the partner communities and cannot be prescribed within the tool because of the context specific nature of any intervention (Bush 1998, Bush and Le Mesurier 2004). This argument arises because there is a gap between theory and practice (Hoffman 2006: 3) and organisations in the field, particularly local organisations, lack the capacity to use existing tools effectively (De Zeeuw 2001: 6).

### **3.3 Bridging the Theory – Practice Gap**

This gap in institutional capacity for both local and international organisations, and the gap between theory and practice is, paradoxically, the very reason that theory is needed to inform and develop practice. Practice guidelines and toolkits can inform programming by providing guidance and clarity, enabling organisations to undertake suitable assessments and assisting in programming interventions that seek to have peacebuilding impacts. Frameworks are not meant to be prescriptive, but are meant to enable organisations to plan, evaluate and amend interventions in accordance with conflict dynamics, highlighting the factors that need to be considered, rather than the activities that need to be completed (Anderson 1999: 75). More recently, the research community has highlighted the need for placing peacebuilding into the mainstream of development activities, and methodological guidance has been prepared for such activities (Paffenholz and Reyhler 2007). Organisations such as CARE International have developed their own guidelines for peacebuilding activities, and USAID have produced their own



conflict assessment tools in an effort to engage appropriately in conflict-sensitive development. Such organisations are seeking appropriate and relevant guidance, underpinned by practice-grounded theory, in order to inform their day-to-day practice in the field. In short, the large and growing development industry is seeking to improve its practice. To achieve better performance, agencies want appropriate, accessible and useful guidance.

A variety of practice guidelines, tools and toolkits already exist, which raises the question: is yet more theory necessary for inter-faith peacebuilding and FBDOs? Rakodi in her work on faith and development has specifically developed an analytical tool for assessing faith in the development context for organisations to use (Rakodi 2012a). This analytical tool is useful for gathering information about the local faith context and potential development impacts. However, it does not specifically look at peacebuilding related issues, such as the conflict context and the relationship of faith leaders to the conflict setting. Neither does it operate within a conceptual framework to inform practice.

I argue that a theoretical framework to inform practice and underpin the development of appropriate tools is needed because a review of current tools demonstrates that although they do analyse local context, they do not analyse the context of faith, faith leaders, and the power of faith to motivate congregations toward pro-peace activities. The assessment lists largely omit faith as a factor in the conflict, and indicators ignore spiritual indicators, such as changes in attitudes or behaviour between people of differing faith backgrounds. Thus, it is appropriate to develop a relevant theory which would generate a framework to assist FBDOs engaged in inter-faith peacebuilding, and to examine the issues around the design of any set of tools or toolkit which would use transferable 'principles of engagement'.

Before proceeding further, it is essential to evaluate the different challenges and dilemmas that FBDOs currently face in their work, to explore the role of peacebuilding for NGOs, and to compare FBDOs with their secular counterparts. In addition, it is essential to examine further the role of faith in peacebuilding, and the capacity of FBDOs to engage in this activity.

## **4.0 Peacebuilding**

The concept of 'peacebuilding' is used to cover a complex and related range of activities that are considered to contribute to the security and non-violent resolution of conflicts in a state. One example of such usage is provided by Paris and Sisk who refer to the role of 'statebuilding' as a

component of peacebuilding (Paris and Sisk 2009: 1). 'Utstein's' peacebuilding palette includes 'statebuilding', which is the development of governance, infrastructure, security capacity, and all the activities that must take place at a government level for a secure and strong state to be in position. However, the palette also covers a range of activities including socio-economic activity such as livelihoods, health and hygiene, and reconciliation activities such as mediation and dialogue activities (Smith 2004). These interventions are of a type that can be, and often are, initiated at grassroots levels by a variety of different actors (Paffenholz and Reyhler 2007: 9). Many NGOs and FBDOs are active at this grassroots level of peacebuilding, and my research questions seek to analyse activities at this level of intervention. Peacebuilding is examined in detail in Chapter Two; in this chapter I use the terms 'Peace Write Large' and 'peace writ little', apparently formulated by Anderson in 2003, as a convenient way to refer to, respectively, elite level actions such as statebuilding; and grassroots activities.

## **4.1 Development Organisations and 'peace writ little' – The Challenges**

Development organisations have sought to bring about changes to 'peace writ little' by means of dialogue programmes, which bring people together to work through the conflict they have faced, and to endeavour to bring about reconciliation and a non-violent resolution to conflicts (Gopin 2000: 40). USAID is one large donor which accepts proposals by NGOs to undertake 'people to people' programmes, whereby people from different sides of a dispute can meet, talk through their grievances, and in theory gain a better understanding of each other, bringing about an increased desire to resolve issues non-violently<sup>4</sup>. Although these programmes do have merit, and have brought about significant changes in attitude, it has also been observed that parties to a dispute also seek an end to injustices and the resolution of issues not discussed in the facilitation or reconciliation sessions (Paffenholz 2008: 20). In this regard development organisations seeking to develop peacebuilding activities have endeavoured to undertake socio-economic and human-rights related activities that also have 'indirect' peacebuilding impacts, such as more contact between people groups, and better dispute resolution mechanisms.

It is in the arena of socio-economic development that the greatest challenges for NGOs are to be found. Development activities usually involve significant investments into a community in the form

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<sup>4</sup> Previous funding opportunity on [www.grants.gov](http://www.grants.gov) which enables NGOs to apply for grants

of goods, such as seeds or livestock, capacity development, such as health or agricultural training and the building of infrastructure, such as irrigation canals or warehouses. A key point is that the provision of these resources will have an impact upon the dynamics of the conflict either negatively or positively, and invariably the larger the investment the greater the impact. Development activities will have peace and conflict consequences whether they are planned or not, and so the challenge that faces all NGOs is how to maximise the peaceful effects and minimise any adverse effects (Paffenholz and Reychler 2007).

The last decade has seen a growth in the number of NGOs that operate in the field of humanitarian and development intervention. These NGOs increasingly operate in a 'conflict sensitive manner', that is, in a way that promotes the factors that contribute to non-violent outcomes when conflict arises, and counteracts the factors that contribute toward a violent outcome when conflict arises (Lange 2004: 5). The whole area of conflict sensitive approaches to development has grown significantly, and there is much research undertaken on the direct and indirect contribution that NGOs can make toward continuing armed violence. The issue of an NGO's impact upon a conflict scenario is complex, and includes matters such as the inadvertent feeding of rebel troops through refugee camps, the provision of (stolen) equipment to armed militia such as vehicles and radio equipment, and the effect of delegitimizing a government which is unable to provide appropriate basic social services for its population (Goodhand 2006). All of these factors can and do exacerbate a conflict situation, and constitute some of the challenges faced by NGOs of all backgrounds.

With the development of Anderson's 'Do No Harm' philosophy, there has been a move beyond using conflict sensitive approaches to programming to actively engaging at grassroots level through programming interventions that enhance 'peace writ little' within a community. Thus the peacebuilding activity is built upon the conflict-sensitive practice of the NGO during its assessment, design and intervention phases of its project activities. Such projects aim to increase 'bridging social capital' between groups of people in order to reduce the likelihood of violent attempts to resolve conflict, by building connections and links between these groups where previously there were none (Fischer 2006: 14). This underlying theory of peacebuilding is commonly used by NGOs, whereby organisations work with 'key people' from different groups and work together to address physical and structural issues that contribute to conflict within a community (Lederach 2005: 91).

A number of tools have been developed to help both in general programming, such as 'Logical Frameworks', and more specifically in Peace and Conflict programming; such as 'Peace and Conflict Impact Assessments'. However, there still remain many difficulties with the use of these tools. As a result although peacebuilding efforts are seen as laudable, what is often in contention is whether these efforts are actually effective, and whether projects seeking to work on 'peace writ little' are also able to impact 'Peace Writ Large' (Paffenholz and Reyhler 2007: 47). Part of the uncertainty about the impact of peacebuilding activities is the difficulty of measuring change in social attitudes and behaviours which would lead to a more peaceful society (Fisher 2001) and how changes at the micro level cause change at the macro level (Goodhand 2006: 122). Various attempts have been made at social impact measurement, such as the development of 'most significant change' stories (Davies and Dart 2005). However, the difficulty of measurement is also exacerbated by the general lack of networking amongst NGOs, especially in the field of peacebuilding, and also by the limited time and space for reflection, analysis, and lesson learning available to organisations endeavouring to work in post-conflict areas, in some of the most poorly developed areas of the world (Lund 2001, Ricigliano 2001: 213).

Furthermore, development organisations come in many shapes and sizes. They may vary in size from an organisation such as Care International, with its multi-million budget, to very small local organisations, working on limited financial resources with a few volunteers (Stephenson 2005). Clearly, within this wide range of organisations there will be a range of different capacities for developing new programming strategies in line with changes in current understanding and research about conflict sensitive approaches to programming. Alongside this varied capacity for assimilating changes in current 'NGO thinking', is an inverse capacity for drawing alongside grassroots organisations and working at an embedded level with the community. The smaller you are the easier it is to work at a grassroots level and the larger you are the more difficult this becomes as the thoughts of the community begin to take second place to the desires and strategies of either the donor or the strategies of the larger NGO (Bush and Le Mesurier 2004: 113). These issues of capacity, size, resources and ability to embed in the context have implications for the approach that international and local organisations might take in working with partner communities. These approaches also reveal differing underlying theories as to the most appropriate interventions.

## **4.2 Peacebuilding for FBDOs**

As outlined earlier an increasing number of FBDOs are currently seeking to operate within the changing development context to engage in peacebuilding activities. They face many of the same challenges as their secular counterparts with regards to operating in a complex and changing field. However, FBDOs also bring with them distinctive contributions to peacebuilding work which are appropriate for a context where faith is normative, and furthermore FBDOs face additional challenges to their efficacy and legitimacy. I shall outline these in the next section.

### **4.2.1 Distinctive Contributions of FBDOs**

#### **4.2.1.1 Advantages of FBDOs**

The majority of development work being undertaken in the Two-Thirds World is implemented in areas where faith is fundamental to the lives of those who live in these contexts: it gives shape and meaning to their daily existence (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011: 26). International secular NGOs and international FBDOs work alongside each other in these post-conflict contexts. In many areas the two types of organisations have similarities; however, there are some areas in which the FBDO may have some advantage. Firstly, international FBDOs tend to stay in an area longer than secular NGOs. This long-term commitment to an area gives international FBDOs a better opportunity to work in peacebuilding (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: 39). The long-term presence of international faith-based workers is matched by the long-term commitment of local faith-based workers in the area, and this gives legitimacy to both groups with regard to peacebuilding efforts (2005: 39). The long-term presence of international faith-based actors is manifested visibly through the lifestyle choices the expatriates make, such as language acquisition as individual staff endeavour to become closely linked with the community and so learn the language skills necessary to be able to communicate with their neighbours, work colleagues and the beneficiaries of their development activities. Another example is the presence of families accompanying individuals working for FBDOs so that the community can recognise the scale of the personal investment that is being made by the expatriate worker in their community. This longevity and commitment to an area is held in high regard by local communities (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: 39).

A further reason cited as to the appropriateness of FBDOs engagement not just in peacebuilding, but in faith-based peacebuilding, is that people of faith share a language of the sacred, and can talk in terms of the divine together. This is an area in which secular organisations are particularly uncomfortable, and where local people of faith find it hard to trust secular organisations. In this regard FBDOs are in a unique position to engage in peacebuilding activity (Harpviken and Roislien 2008: 364). It is of course true that people of different faith backgrounds do not use the same religious language. However, there is enough commonality and agreement on terms to enable mutual understanding and it is suggested that merely being religious fosters shared values (Harpviken and Roislien 2008: 364). Clarke states that the use of moral and spiritual discourse is distinct from that of the development discourse, and enables faith leaders to engage with communities around development issues using a familiar and trusted language, and consequently faith leaders are better able to mobilise those who do not want to engage with secular concepts (Clarke 2006: 845). Faith actors are often motivated by their faith to engage in peacebuilding activities, and in areas where faith is a normative part of culture this use of faith gives both local and international faith actors moral and spiritual authority and legitimacy in this field (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: 39). Many faiths hold social justice as central to their teaching, and this has been the basis of pro-democracy movements in some nations, whilst Muslim actors have also been active in state formation (Deneulin and Rakodi 2011: 12).

Additionally faith leaders can be seen as apolitical and so they can traverse boundaries that their secular counterparts cannot (Goodhand, Klema and Korf 2009: 681). Local FBOs have an additional advantage that they are embedded in the local context and have access to grassroots, local and national networks (Moberg, Hunsicker and Walker 2009: 6).

The typology of different FBOs working in a development context also demonstrates the manner in which peacebuilding messages can be transmitted to different faith congregations. Those organisations that act as representative bodies for different faith backgrounds can give doctrinal instruction with regard to the peace ethic within a faith and this message can be disseminated through weekly faith gatherings by faith leaders. Those leaders who are not linked to a political party, but engage with political issues have some legitimacy as they are seen as non-partisan and less open to corruption, and they can mobilise faith communities around socio-political issues (Goodhand, Klema and Korf 2009: 681). Faith leaders also have access to wider regional,

national and international networks and may utilise these resources on occasion, making them less dependent upon donor funding (Clarke 2006: 845).

FBDOs are already active in peacebuilding activities and Bouta et al. have listed a number of ways in which different organisations have worked toward building peace in local communities ranging from provision of emotional and spiritual support and mobilising communities for peace to mediating between warring parties and arranging for disarmament and re-integration activities of combatants (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: 35). Furthermore in 20 cases of sub-Saharan conflict 'interreligious actors' are recorded to have developed pro-peace movements (Basedau and De Juan 2008: 16).

#### **4.2.1.2 Challenges Facing FBDOs**

Although these advantages give FBDOs legitimacy that secular organisations lack in areas of peacebuilding where faith is a normative part of culture, FBDOs are also hampered by other common characteristics or concerns, these include:

- a) The role of the organisation in proselytism or missionary outreach and its impact upon donors or partner communities.
- b) Poor resourcing, including financial and suitable human resources.
- c) Lack of professionalism with regard to programmatic output.
- d) Few women in leadership positions.

These issues face ongoing challenges for FBDOs as they seek to establish legitimacy as a peacebuilding organisation and I examine how they impact the organisation in greater detail below.

#### **4.2.1.3 Resourcing issues**

- a) Funding

Secular NGOs and FBDOs work alongside in areas where there is intense competition for donor funding. Many secular donors have been anxious about funding FBDOs in their work as they do not want funding to be used to further the claims of any particular religion. On the Comic Relief website it is made evident that funding will not be given to FBDOs who seek to proselytise as a

result of their activities.<sup>5</sup> This concern about the potential for FBDOs to engage in proselytism has led some donors to exclude FBOs from their grants programmes altogether.<sup>6</sup> Increased recognition that FBDOs have a legitimate role to play in development and peacebuilding has led donors such as USAID to develop a toolkit to encourage USAID staff to consider engaging with FBOs and FBDOs in peacebuilding activities (Moberg, Hunsicker and Walker 2009: 1). However, this implies donors are anxious about funding FBDOs.

#### b) Missionary Activity

Equally, partner communities have been upset when the development outreach of an international organisation has been accompanied by an encouragement to change faith (Lowilla 2006: 28). Within Afghanistan all Christian organisations were treated with some nervousness by other international NGOs, and the Taliban Government regularly arrested local members of staff to question them about the 'missionary' activities of the Christian FBDO. This suspicion did reduce the perceived legitimacy of the organisations both amongst partner communities and amongst the development community.

As stated earlier both secular organisations and FBDOs are competing for funding from major international donors. If donors are anxious about giving money to FBDOs because they believe they are involved in proselytism then this then reduces the pool of available funding. FBDOs are then often stretched and have little surplus cash for effective research and development in the field. This in turn affects project design, implementation and the organisation's overall effectiveness. The impact of proselytism on the legitimacy of FBDOs is explored further later in this chapter.

#### c) Human Resource Capacity

Some international FBDOs operate using volunteer personnel<sup>7</sup> and others employ personnel but do not compete with the salaries offered by secular organisations.<sup>8</sup> A result of this policy is that such organisations are often stretched for personnel whom have relevant technical or professional expertise in the field of development. My own experience of working with an FBDO

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.comicrelief.com/sites/all/assets/documents/resources/International-Grant-Making-Policies.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> Sigrid Rausing Trust will not accept any application from a Faith-Based Organisation

<sup>7</sup> The organisation I worked with in Afghanistan was staffed by expatriates who were all self-funded.

<sup>8</sup> Personal experience of job hunting



was being placed in charge of a region, under a Taliban administration, having arrived in the area 6 weeks previously, and with no previous experience of regional management. This use of willing, but inexperienced staff may impinge upon programme design and efficiency. However, some International FBDOs (Tearfund, Christian Aid) do employ experienced and qualified personnel at a market rate.

The impact of conflict upon gender is often overlooked or disregarded in conflict analysis. It is necessary to understand the role of gender intrinsic to experiences of conflict, in order to enhance peacebuilding (Moser 2007: 231). Within many faiths as practised in developing countries the role of women is often held within the private sphere and there is difficulty in accepting a move from the private to the public (Commonwealth Foundation 2008: 17). The role of women in public decision-making is hindered and their contribution to peacebuilding is lost (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana 2008: 564). A consequence of this is that local FBDOs may have few women in leadership positions and need to proactively address this in their programming (Ginifer 2006: 28).

#### d) Programme Management

FBOs may be less results-oriented than secular actors. According to research undertaken by Bouta et al. some respondents commented that FBOs were more focused on long-term peacebuilding outcomes and hence concentrated on relationship building; whereas secular organisations were more results-oriented in the short-term. The respondent in Bouta's research perceived this to be a disadvantage for the partner community in development programming (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: 40).

Clearly faith motivates people and organisations to work toward peace in areas where faith is part of culture and can contribute towards peace. Gerstbauer states that where there are issues with legitimacy these can be resolved if FBDOs work effectively and efficiently with clear mandates and strategies (Gerstbauer 2010: 849), and many FBDOs are seeking to develop their professional and sectoral skills in development and peacebuilding. Despite the challenges that FBDOs face, they are uniquely placed to engage with these issues of faith, conflict and peace, in areas where faith and its practice are part of the day-to-day experience of the communities in which they work. However, FBDOs need to develop further resources and skills to help them overcome the challenges that they face.

### **4.3 Engaging With Faith at a Community Level**

For an FBDO to undertake faith-based peacebuilding it must engage with faith at a community level. Three approaches to engaging with faith communities have been described in a recent study commissioned by the British Government. These three approaches are underpinned by different theories of change as to how engagement with people of faith can be a part of community renewal (Chapman and Lowndes 2005). The first of these approaches to engagement around matters of faith relates to the normative nature of faith - in that faith is a part of culture, and consequently a part of everyone's day to day activities. So, if a faith perspective is brought to bear on issues of community renewal, this will have a greater impact because people's everyday lives are interwoven within faith and culture. Faith is a normal part of the lives of its adherents and so a faith-based approach will impact their lives, bringing about change and renewal.

The second approach to engagement with people of faith is the recognition that faith groups have access to resources. These resources may be physical such as buildings, or they may be financial such as the contributions people pay towards their faith community. Obviously the financial resources will vary from country to country and faith to faith, yet one theory for engaging with people of faith is that this opens up access to resources which would otherwise be locked, such as people on the ground to take part in community activities, or spaces that can be used for meetings.

The third approach to engaging with people of faith is that leaders of faith groups can act as representatives for their faiths at a local and community level. This means that different faith groups can have dialogue with each other at a civic level, and that each faith group has representation in local community decision making. The theory is that this will allow faith groups to have an active part in community life and to build bridges between faith-groups, resulting in an increased ability to resolve community conflicts over resources in a non-violent manner (Chapman and Lowndes 2005: 40).

All of the theories underlying these approaches are valid, and they can to some extent operate at different levels. A Government may seek to increase community participation through enhanced representation of faith-groups at the local and regional level, or faith-groups may seek representation locally or regionally, because they believe this will benefit their congregations and

enable their viewpoints to be heard. At the same time local authorities may seek to utilise the normative approach to faith to engage with a large group of people about an issue. In South Africa Archbishop Desmond Tutu called upon the ethics of peace within Christianity and within the 'Ubuntu' tradition to encourage reconciliation within South Africa (Appleby 2000: 199). This reflects the normative approach to faith engagement. Faith is a part of culture and practice and so a faith perspective on these issues should in theory make a difference. Also people's empowerment groups may relate with a variety of citizens, including faith groups, to advocate change. In this respect they are relying in part upon the resource potential that is to be found within faith-groups with respect to numbers of people who can be mobilised, the financial contributions that they may be able to make, and room and space for meetings and large group discussions.

Use of these approaches by a secular organisation can be construed as cynical manipulation by some faith-group members, who believe that parties are just seeking to gain access to membership, resources or a compliant audience, without any real understanding or empathy for faith issues (Chapman and Lowndes 2005: 37). However, approaches from faith-based organisations can be construed more sympathetically as being genuine.

## **4.4 Inter-Faith Peacebuilding for FBDOs**

FBDOs are motivated by their faith to engage with the conflict-sensitive debate, and to undertake better humanitarian and relief activities (Gerstbauer 2010: 860). The role of people of faith, FBOs and FBDOs in peacebuilding has been documented by a number of different authors. Bouta et al comment on the achievements that different FBDOs have successfully undertaken during their peacebuilding activity and include: altering attitudes and behaviours, healing of trauma and 'rehumanizing' the other; dissemination of peacebuilding ideas, recruiting committed activists, challenging unjust structures, negotiating with Governments, mediating, encouraging reconciliation and networking internationally with similar and other faith groups (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: 35).

### **4.4.1 Peacebuilding Roles**

Although this is an impressive list it is a description of activities undertaken rather than a specific examination of the role that FBDOs have had in the pursuit of peace. Appleby describes a

number of roles or functions that faith-based actors might take during conflict transformation. These include: social critics, early warning systems, advocates, provider of sanctuary, facilitators of dialogue, provider of good office, mediators, and leadership of social reconstruction. Appleby comments that these roles were undertaken from a variety of positions, both national and international, at differing organisational levels (Appleby 2000: 221).

A further analysis of the role of development organisations in peacebuilding activities has been undertaken by Paffenholz, who describes the following roles for all development organisations engaged in peacebuilding activities: protection, monitoring, advocacy, socialisation, inter-group social cohesion, facilitation and service delivery. Paffenholz states that the latter role serves only to enable different organisations to undertake one of the previous six roles and is without purpose unless another peacebuilding role is undertaken alongside (Paffenholz 2008: 5). Although Paffenholz is not specifically writing about a faith-based civil society or FBDO her contention is valid for all development organisations who seek to undertake peacebuilding activities. To be a peacebuilding organisation the organisation must undertake a peacebuilding role. All of the roles that Paffenholz describes are equally suitable for faith leaders to undertake as secular leaders. These three descriptors of peacebuilding activity and role show a measure of overlap and some divergence. I examine the peacebuilding role of faith actors in greater detail later in this chapter.

#### **4.4.2 Developing Social Capital**

In seeking to develop activities that are appropriate for inter-faith peacebuilding many FBDOs have sought to develop 'social capital' between different faith congregations in a post-conflict setting. Social capital is a term that has evolved since its original inception. It was at first used to describe a set of economic and power relations which arose out of social connections and networks and was an attempt to describe how social class and class divisions arose. In this concept the social network could not be 'equated to the products of those social relationships', as this did not allow for those who had many social networks but no access to economic power as a result (De Filippis 2001: 781). However, the term social capital was adopted by development theorists and now 'refers to the norms and networks of civil society that lubricate cooperative action among both citizens and their institutions' (De Filippis 2001: 786). Thus, social capital is the product of social relationships which enable groups to cooperate and to deal with conflict in a non-violent manner. Gawerc refers to social capital as 'cross-cutting ties' and comments that they provide a framework of reference which suggests that both parties could be right (Gawerc 2006:

453). Narayan and Cassidy highlight that the influence of social capital is profound, 'with consequences that may be beneficial or pathological', depending upon the groups that have been formed (Narayan and Cassidy 2001: 60). Social capital can be used to draw heterogeneous groups together to work against 'other' groups and consequently can be damaging as well as helpful, particularly when used against those who are relatively powerless (Goodhand 2006: 41). Bonding social capital on its own can increase the 'in-group's' feelings of uniqueness and superiority; it can be a negative force and reinforce clan linkages and ethnic prejudices (Dudouet 2007: 17).

In recognition of the negative power of social capital the concept of 'bridging social capital' was developed (De Filippis 2001: 790). This term relates to the formation of informal linkages between non-heterogeneous groups and their presence reduces the likelihood of violent conflict between groups (Goodhand 2006: 40). On one level inter-faith peacebuilding is the attempt to build 'bridging capital' between people of different faith backgrounds, which would appear to increase the potential for non-violent resolution of conflicts. In areas where there is no existing bridging capital between different groups, the establishment of even a few bridges can have a significant effect (Gawerc 2006: 453). Social capital theory is not without its critics; De Fillipis contends that this understanding of social capital is completely divorced from the original meaning of the term and no longer relates to the economic power generated by such relationships. He further articulates that when people are poor or oppressed it is the power relationship that needs to change rather than the number of connections between groups (De Filippis 2001: 790). He contends that social capital and civil society have become conflated and that in seeking to increase 'social capital' development theorists are seeking to enable civil society to develop (De Filippis 2001: 791). Goodhand also comments that one criticism of social capital is that it ignores power relations (Goodhand 2006: 41). However, social capital as it is currently understood is a concept that appears to be widely used in the peacebuilding community, who may focus on building better 'bridging social capital' between groups.

The development of linkages between groups of different faith backgrounds has become a key objective for FBDOs seeking to undertake peacebuilding activities. Typically, the building of these bridges has been undertaken through a variety of dialogue and mediation projects. The United States Institute for Peace (USIP) give many examples of different approaches to faith-based peacebuilding in conflict settings (Smock 2001). In these examples individuals are given the

space to talk, to be heard, to listen and to learn with those of other faith backgrounds. This can enable participants to move on toward a different understanding of the 'other' and to begin to acknowledge the pain, and the needs of the other as well. Abu-Nimer gives a model of inter-faith dialogue, and a framework for those engaged in running inter-faith dialogue sessions to assist the process (Abu-Nimer 2001). Others involved in dialogue work give lists of do's and don'ts with regard to constructing the groups, make-up and willingness of participants. In addition, contact theorists give advice on when group meetings and discussions may be most beneficial in producing a positive change in attitude of members of one conflict party, to members of another conflict party (Parlevliet 2009: 74).

The use of dialogues as a tool for conflict resolution is contested. Gopin states that there are some problems to using dialogue as a means of conflict resolution between religious parties:

There are several problems with applying this to conflicts among or involving religious people. Some of these problems will be similar to applying this method cross-culturally, especially to village-based life that is closer to pre-modern culture; other problems are unique to the question of religion. To begin with, hierarchy and religious authority is a major issue. The dialogue method assumes that the parties feel free to engage in open and honest communication and assumes some ability to change attitudes, opinions and behaviours (Gopin 2000: 40).

Furthermore, if an individual is to change his opinion about 'the enemy', this may involve a challenge to theological precepts which an individual feels unable to change without authoritative permission (Gopin 2000: 41). In addition dialogue workshops may act to reinforce stereotypes and prejudices between conflict parties, and consequently have little or no impact upon attitudes and behaviours (Forbes 2004). An additional criticism is that even in 'identity conflicts' the conflict is most often triggered by a grievance, such as injustice, poverty and few livelihood prospects. It is difficult for people to engage with each other when they are hungry, or the injustices that they see perpetrated every day are continued outside of the meetings and dialogues.

For the building of bridging capital, it is essential for socio-economic development to take place either alongside or in place of dialogue workshops and activities. It is this role which many FBDOs seek to undertake in their peacebuilding activities. There are many NGOs and FBOs which can undertake reconciliation or mediation activities, and there are many which do this well.

However, an FBO that also addresses structural socio-economic issues is best placed to bring about a change in the structural circumstances of the conflict, as well as in the social attitudes of the conflicting parties. Bradley comments that faith offers a way forward, but caution and clarification are needed to enable them to carry out this role (Bradley 2009: 113).

## **4.5 The Challenges of Inter-Faith Peacebuilding for FBDOs**

The challenges to any organisation involved in peacebuilding are manifold. In general the difficulties for most organisations lie with implementing the change that is to be effected, and how this change is to be measured. This is common for much of 'soft programming'; the questions of 'what are we trying to do' and 'how will we know when we've got there' are most difficult to judge when the project outcome involves social change. Measuring the number, rate of use and cleanliness of latrines is one thing, measuring changes in 'peace writ little' is another; and trying to link the two activities: latrine building and peacebuilding, is a complex activity. So, to bring into this equation the effectiveness of FBDO's working with people of faith on building bridging capital complicates the matter further. The issues of measurement and the evaluation of "soft programming impacts" are not easy, but the NGO community is working to develop methods of measurement such as using 'Most Significant Change' methodology (Davies and Dart 2005). This methodology works with communities to identify the areas where they would like to see change in different aspects of their society, and then during the course of the project ask for stories and examples where there have been changes. These indicators are set before the project start, and the stories can be used to identify where change has occurred. In this regard 'Most Significant Change' stories are a useful tool for understanding "theories of change" in social programming. When developing an MSC methodology participants are highlighting the areas in which they want to see change and outlining the activities which they believe will help to effect this change. If there is no significant change in this area, or it is an adverse change, then this highlights an inadequacy in the theory of change, or conversely highlights the appropriateness of the principle behind the theory.

Measuring change and impact is a complex process and different methods of monitoring and evaluation of projects are being developed by many of the larger NGOs. However, the issue for inter-faith peacebuilding is not just the measurement, but the initiation of any project or activity. How does a FBDO begin the task of project development with an 'indirect' peacebuilding goal of building bridging social capital between people of different faith backgrounds? This appears to me

to be the major stumbling block that faces FBDOs and one in which some guidance would be not just useful but essential. Where faith is a factor in conflicts that are exacerbated by identity, engaging with the peace ethic of the local faith congregations is a key component in reducing the potential for further violent conflicts (Rummel 1997: 269). It is a difficult and complex task to undertake and to measure, but that doesn't mean that it shouldn't be attempted. What appears to be lacking is the corporate "know how" as to how to do this well. In Chapter Four I examine a number of local FBDOs and their faith-based peacebuilding activities, and this limited use of faith as a peacebuilding tool is evident; as is a clear statement of how the organisations have impacted 'peace writ little' or 'Peace Writ Large'.

Academics and researchers have commented upon the practice of faith-based peacebuilding, that it is essential to support faith leaders as they seek to engage communities around issues of peace (Appleby 2000: 17); that framing arguments from a religious perspective have enabled interveners to access conflicting parties (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana 2008: 686); and that individual peace entrepreneurs and NGOs can 'diffuse ideas and social energy' (Appleby 2000: 122). However, at present there appears to be no theoretical framework specifically targeted at faith-based and inter-faith peacebuilding. The majority of theory around conflict-sensitivity does not specifically analyse issues of faith, and although there is overlap between faith and community leaders, the spiritual and faith aspect of peacebuilding are given little validity, or are assumed as implicit in participatory techniques. With no effective theoretical principles on which to begin inter-faith peacebuilding FBDOs have developed different styles and approaches to inter-faith peacebuilding which are dependent upon the theories of change of project designers. These theories may be useful and locally appropriate, but they will only inform that particular conflict setting. A larger theory, which includes the analysis and acceptance of the local theories of change, is needed to assist FBDOs working in a variety of locations, with a variety of conflict contexts to develop appropriate practice guidelines to inform programming design and implementation.

## **4.5.1 Peacebuilding Ethics for FBDOs**

### **4.5.1.1 Motivation**

Peacebuilding per se has its ethical dilemmas. The underlying reason for a third-party intervention in a conflict situation is not always as altruistic as might at first appear, Murithi writes



that intervention with no hidden agenda for business or other benefits is the most ethical approach to peacebuilding. Furthermore coercive attempts at peacebuilding are neither ethical nor likely to result in a lasting peace agreement (Murithi 2009: 39). However, these ethical dilemmas are often more associated with Track I and Track II diplomacy and state-building rather than grassroots socio-economic development activities with peacebuilding impacts. Despite this academics have commented that NGOs may give the appearance of just working in development contexts to make money for themselves (Okumu-Alya 2010: 103) and this has been the perception of those receiving development assistance (Mosse 2012: 15).<sup>9</sup> However, most local grassroots organisations scrape by with a minimum of funding, as do many mid-size international NGOs, this motivation to assist comes from either a humanitarian/secular background, or a faith-based moral imperative and is not motivated through financial or other gain. Gerstbauer comments that although there is funding available for peacebuilding, and it has been suggested that organisations have started undertaking peacebuilding activities purely to secure this funding, there is evidence that many FBDOs have taken on the peacebuilding mandate as a result of moral conviction arising from their faith, as opposed to a desire for financial gain (Gerstbauer 2010: 847).

An additional criticism made against FBDOs is that they undertake development and peacebuilding activities as a form of missionary endeavour; and their motivation is to proselytise those of different faith backgrounds and encourage them to change faith. The Red Cross Code of Conduct states that 'Aid will not be given to further a particular religious or political viewpoint'<sup>10</sup> and many FBDOs are now signatories to this code of conduct and abide by its principles. However, for many partner communities proselytism includes the promulgation of a liberal global north worldview, and they may see this worldview as an attack on indigenous culture and traditions.<sup>11</sup> Consequently the methods for those organisations engaged in peacebuilding need to encompass local traditional forms of non-violent conflict resolution and problem-solving. However, as organisations seek to address issues of equality, participation and inclusion amongst indigenous communities, whatever the organisations real intentions, their motivation can be

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<sup>9</sup> Various comments from MA students at the Centre for Peace and Reconciliation Studies over a number of years.

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/misc/code-of-conduct-290296.htm>

<sup>11</sup> Whilst working in Afghanistan all International NGOs were seen as promulgating 'Christian' values of women's equality whether they were FBDOs or secular organisations. ICRC was also accused of this behaviour.

misconstrued by partner communities. One method of engaging with the issues of equality is to partner with indigenous Civil Society Organisations who are seeking to challenge these issues.

#### **4.5.1.2 Participation**

A key tool for any toolkit would be the assessment for the peace and conflict context. PCIAs have been used since the 1990's by organisations in the field, and they have evolved over the years to produce a range of conflict assessment tools. Bush, who first introduced the PCIA concept to practitioners, is adamant that the manner in which these assessments are carried out is crucial to success, rather than the details of the questions asked (Bush 2005b). For Bush it is essential that local populations 'own' the assessment process, i.e. they themselves are intrinsically involved in assessing conflict and local capacities for peace: and in identifying what factors will reduce violence and assist in the promotion of peace (Bush 2005a: 10). Paffenholz, although agreeing that local input is essential, states from her own experience that initial stages of the assessment can successfully be completed without local input as expatriate personnel work through the issues and highlight areas that need further inquiry or information (2005a). The key element remains that any assessment undertaken without the input, knowledge and full participation of the local partner community is fatally flawed. This participatory assessment process is crucial when considering issues of faith and religion, and those factors that connect these groups, or identifying the tensions that exist between them. In seeking to engage in inter-faith peacebuilding FBDOs must ensure that partner communities are fully 'partnering' them in the development research, planning, implementation and monitoring.

The theories of change of the local population are vital to understanding how increased tolerance and a greater cultural pluralism can be attained, without exacerbating tensions and moving a system towards violence. These theories of change are likely to be non-linear and relational (Eyben et al. 2008), and so may not be easy to fit into a project design and implementation process. It is vital that FBDOs fully comprehend and incorporate the partner communities theories of change, especially with regard to changing attitudes towards those of other faith traditions.

#### **4.5.1.3 Humility**

Linked to ethos and participation is the role of 'humility' in all the assessment and the implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases. Gopin states that he believes all expatriates should have some 'humility training' and that humility should be part of an NGOs characteristics

of what it is to be 'a conflict resolving community' (Gopin 2000: 154). In fact such training could also be extended to educated elites, who find it hard to believe that local people have anything to contribute to project design, implementation or the learning process, beyond providing the muscle power for activities to take place.<sup>12</sup> For people of faith who are adherents of a value system which has unique 'truth' claims, humility is especially vital. To enter a situation believing that you hold a spiritual superiority to those with whom you work is not conducive to participatory and inclusive assessment, design and implementation of projects, especially projects with an indirect aim of increasing inter-faith cohesion and reducing inter-faith tensions.

Humility could have implications for FBDOs operating from a 'missionary' perspective (whether Christian or Muslim), in that if development activities are part of a missionary outreach designed to encourage a change in faith system, then this agenda is likely to be highly problematic with regards to inter-faith peacebuilding (Lowilla 2006). In areas where religion has been a facet of violent conflict then proselytism is also likely to be highly problematic with regards to peacebuilding by organisations where faith is not a motivation. I am not arguing that missionary organisations cannot work in such situations; however, I believe all development activity needs to be undertaken with local groups as equal partners in a change process, in which matters of faith and spiritual growth are mutually affirmed, irrespective of faith background. Inter-faith peacebuilding can only work if FBDOs are willing to role-model this activity with partners at local level, and with other FBOs. When organisations refuse to network with others due to their faith background, or lack of faith background, this demonstrates to local communities that the community can pick and choose who it works with as well (Anderson 1999: 56). If an organisation is seeking to encourage cooperation within different sectors of a community, a lack of networking with others can have negative consequences for their own work.

#### **4.5.1.4 Theories of Change for FBDOs**

In addition to the participatory and inclusive ethos of working with faith congregations, it would also be essential for FBDOs to explore and incorporate local theories of change within the process of analysis, assessment and project design. Theories of change tend to be implicit within the mindset of the programme designer, and these theories will impact upon project design although not explicitly stated. The majority of programme designers come from the global north and it is these unstated and 'logical' theories of change that underpin the projects they design. It

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<sup>12</sup> Personal experience of working in Afghanistan

is then not surprising that local communities are sceptical about the success of such projects when they do not understand the reasoning behind the project design, or when their own understandings of change within a complex social system are not included. Theories of change from the global south are likely to have greater linkage to local social change and cultural realities than the logical progressions of a more global north mindset (Eyben et al. 2008). Care International describes theories of change as following an 'If.....'then'....pattern, which allows for evaluation of the theories and makes them suitable for use in peacebuilding (Care International 2012: 3).

Theories of change are important for a variety of reasons:

- a) They allow for project designers to learn from the success or failure of their project. If the theory of change is not stated explicitly how is it possible to assess why the project did not work, or in contrast why it was so successful in these circumstances? Thus, theories of change can shape the evaluation process for project interventions and aid both institutional and community learning. In this way the link between theory and practice can be strengthened (Shapiro 2006: 2).
- b) Theories of Change expressed by members of the global north are likely to follow a more logical progression. However the theories expressed by partner communities demonstrate a local understanding of the conflict context and of potential strategies for encouraging peace which may be more complex than the theories of the global north, but are likely to be a more accurate reflection of the context. By examining a broader spectrum of theories of change organisations enable themselves to develop new approaches to project design (Eyben et al. 2008: 211).
- c) If an organisation is not conversant with its own theory of change, or the theory of the partner community, then they are likely to be subject to the theories of change of the donor community whether knowingly or otherwise (Goodhand 2006: 45).
- d) It is possible to identify complementary or competing theories of change and use this knowledge in strengthening the project design; furthermore this knowledge can help to identify where programmes can run in a complementary manner to each other (Shapiro 2006: 2).

- e) It is also possible to compare theories of change and to assess which theories may yield more positive results given the context (Church and Rogers 2006: 14).
- f) Researching theories of change enables identification of appropriate actors in the activity (Care International 2012: 5).

In their work, Church and Rogers describe a number of theories of change that are widely used. These theories include: individual change theory, healthy relationships and connections theory, withdrawal of the resources for war theory, reduction of violence theory, root causes/injustice theory, institutional development theory, political elites theory, grassroots mobilization theory, economics theory, and public attitudes theory (2006: 15). These are just a few indicative theories that underlay the peacebuilding actions of different stakeholders in conflict contexts and are not meant to be an exhaustive list. These theories may be appropriate for different conflict contexts but without the input of partner communities and their complementary theories of change the listed theories could have limited resonance and validity.

Theories of change need to be explored fully and the theories of change of local participants need to be incorporated in the design of any social impact project, to enable a participatory project design to take place, and for joint learning for the community and organisation to occur. These local theories of change may hold within them particular challenges for international FBDOs, where the theory of change refers to traditional justice mechanisms, or traditional practices, which may not be congruent with a Christian or Muslim worldview (Lui Institute 2005: 43). However, understanding and including these locally held theories of change is essential for project implementation.

## **5.0 Role of Faith-Based Peacebuilders**

A number of authors have given some attention to the role that faith actors can take as peacebuilders. Appleby and Alger list a variety of complementary roles that individuals can take in pursuing peace and using faith as a tool for peacebuilding (Appleby 2000, Alger 2002). In the same way FBDOs too can have peacebuilding role as part of their development activities. Delivering services through development activities could be a means to a peacebuilding end, but according to Paffenholz it is not a peacebuilding end in itself (Paffenholz 2008: 5). This renaming of development activities as 'peacebuilding' in their own right has been an issue for some NGOs which have struggled with the change of priorities in their work. However, according to Paffenholz

for service delivery or socio-economic development activity to contribute to peacebuilding activity, it requires that those undertaking the activity engage in one of a variety of different peacebuilding roles. Alger (2002), Appleby (2000), Gopin (2000), and Paffenholz (2008) have listed the variety of peacebuilding roles that different actors can take and I have amalgamated these lists and developed a list of potential roles suitable for faith-based actors to undertake which I develop here. These roles include that of facilitation, monitoring/observing, advocating, socialisation, inter-faith cohesion, protection and mediation. Although it could be suggested that all FBOs have the potential to develop a peacebuilding role as part of their development programming, the challenge for FBOs is to recognise this potential and to utilise it as discussed below.

## **5.1 Facilitating**

Faith-Based Organisations and faith-based actors through their access to resources such as buildings, people and finances are able to host meetings, conferences, or events that bring people together. They may also possess the skills necessary to facilitate difficult meetings and they have the moral authority to call meetings and bring people together. In this way FBDOs can use their development activities to facilitate meetings which enable discussion around conflict issues, or enable disparate groups of people to come together in a safe space. This activity in itself may constitute an inter-faith dialogue, but one in which the participants are also working together on resolving issues that contribute significantly to the conflict, such as access to resources, livelihoods and social justice issues. The Life and Peace Institute based in the Horn of Africa facilitated cooperation between Protestant and Catholic media in Congo-Brazzaville resulting in less conflictual and more conciliatory messages from Churches. In Uganda the International Fellowship of Reconciliation facilitated multi-faith peace efforts (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana, and Abu-Nimer 2005: 27).

## **5.2 Monitoring/Observing**

In situations where human rights abuses are taking place, or where there is social injustice faith-based organisations can act to monitor the situation and to report this information to the State or other appropriate authorities. In this manner faith-based actors or organisations can act as monitors during a conflict, or in a post-conflict period. The information may be passed onto another organisation: such as Amnesty International, so that it can act as an advocate, or the information can then be used by the FBDO itself, to enable it to act as an advocate for the people.

Monitoring and observation differs from advocacy in that it is the recording of events as they take place and acting as legitimate witnesses with moral authority in any circumstance. Information gathered through monitoring and observation can then be used for advocacy purposes, although not all FBDOs have the capacity to engage as advocates. Additionally FBOs can act as observers to treaties, brokered agreements and ceasefires, whether these are at a community, regional or national level. The Iraqi Institute of Peace formed a number of different task forces whose remit was to monitor, observe and seek to impact attitudes around conflict issues concerning women, youth, media, human rights and religious tolerance amongst others (White 2006: 15).

### **5.3 Advocating**

FBDOs can use information either gathered by their own resources or given to them from other sources and advocate for the rights of those who are suffering to the local authority, the government or to appropriate international organisations. In this way FBDOs can lobby for social justice, an end to military intervention, or other issues dependent upon the conflict context. In Bouta et al.s' mapping exercise a number of organisations gave their core peacebuilding business as advocacy. These included, among others, the Centre for Research and Dialogue in Somalia, The Sudanese Women's Initiative for Peace, and the Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana, Abu-Nimer 2005: 23).

### **5.4 Mediating**

Probably one of the most common roles that faith-based actors especially can undertake is that of mediator. Faith-based actors can hold legitimacy to act as mediators in a conflict between different parties. These types of mediations generally have specific characteristics that differ from secular mediators, and include:

- a) explicit emphasis on spirituality and/or religious identity; b) use of religious texts; c) use of religious values and vocabulary; d) utilization of religious or spiritual rituals during the process; e) involvement of faith-based actors as third-parties (Bercovitch and Kadayifci-Orellana 2009: 185).

The Mennonites have acted as mediators in many different conflict situations and are respected for their skills and abilities in this area, as well as for their non-partisan approach to mediation activities (Merry 2000: 217), although mediations can be undertaken by local FBDOs in specific

conflicts, such as the Wajir Peace and Development Organisation in Kenya (Bercovitch and Kadayifci-Orellana 2009: 185). FBDOs can be seen to have the moral and spiritual authority to undertake these mediations and impact the thoughts and actions of the parties to the mediation (Bercovitch and Kadayifci-Orellana 2009: 186).

## **5.5 Socialisation**

Encouraging disparate groups of people to work together on issues that impact them all can increase understanding of and tolerance toward the 'other'. Through such socialisation activities FBOs can bring different faith groups together around different issues. Social contact theory allows that people from different backgrounds that come into contact with each other, may have their prejudices and assumptions challenged about the other. For this process to take place, a number of pre-requisites need to be in place, otherwise prejudices can be reinforced and animosity can increase (Forbes 2004: 74). These pre-requisites include the equality of the groups meeting, presence of cooperation between the groups and social norms around group meetings.

Socialisation is one role of peacebuilders which directly encourages the growth of 'bridging' social capital, enabling people from diverse backgrounds to develop links where there may have been none previously. Where FBDOs are working across communities on issues that impact them both, the socialisation of different faith congregations builds bridging social capital, and reduces the likelihood of violent responses to conflict (Gawerc 2006: 447).

## **5.6 Inter-Faith Cohesion**

Faith-Based Organisations can work to develop inter-faith cohesion through their networking and combined activities. FBDOs can establish networks of communication not only with 'like-minded' FBDOs but with FBDOs from other faith backgrounds, both local and international, and in this way model inter-faith cohesion on issues that impact all partner communities. Inter-Faith Action for Peace in Africa, based in Kenya seeks to increase inter-faith cohesion through its activities (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: 23).

## **5.7 Protection**

Faith-Based Organisations and actors can serve to protect others when the state is unable or unwilling to do so. Faith-Based Organisations can offer protection to individuals who are



advocating for justice issues or human rights when these are at risk from members of the public or opposition groups. This protection is often in the form of accompaniment so that the person at risk is never left alone to be targeted by potential assassins. Equally, FBDOs can provide 'places of sanctuary' for the vulnerable at risk of exploitation. The Middle East Council of Churches based in Lebanon regularly visits detainees and prisoners to observe their conditions and treatment. Equally the Joint Relief Ministry in Egypt provides identity cards for Sudanese refugees that have helped refugees when stopped by the authorities in Egypt (Ferris 2005: 321).

These different roles are essential for the FBDO to contribute towards peace. The role is outworked through the form of development activity and service delivery. The roles are dependent upon the type of service delivery that such organisations may undertake and are influenced by the context in which they are working. The role will also depend upon the FBDOs links with the local community, and the capacity that the FBDO has to undertake these roles. Thus, an FBDO should not undertake a complex mediation if they did not have the skills, capacities and legitimacy to undertake such a mediation. However, they may be an appropriate organisation to facilitate such mediations if an FBDO with the appropriate capacity is found. The implication is that unless the service delivery involves FBDOs acting in one of these peacebuilding roles then the service delivery/development activity does not contribute towards peacebuilding (Paffenholz 2008). Identifying an appropriate peacebuilding role is a key component of any peacebuilding intervention to be undertaken by an FBDO and without this role any service delivery will have limited peacebuilding impact. Although this peacebuilding role is crucial for impact upon 'pwl' and 'PWL', it is unclear whether FBDOs have as a general principle adopted a peacebuilding role as part of their development activities.

## **6.0 Conclusion**

In this Chapter I have sought to give an overview of the factors and issues that impact the work of FBDOs engaged in peacebuilding, and examine the opportunities, dilemmas and challenges that face FBDOs seeking to undertake faith-based and inter-faith peacebuilding activities. I have begun with a snapshot of the issues that face NGOs in general, but have critically examined how this specifically relates to FBDOs. I have tried to clarify how these theories and practice assist FBDOs in their work. In addition I have examined specifically the issues that impact FBDOs working in a faith context and examined the gaps that exist in theoretical and practice guidance for these organisations. I have outlined the many opportunities that exist for FBDOs to engage in

faith-based and inter-faith peacebuilding, but also highlighted the challenges and dilemmas that exist for them.

NGOs, both local and international, whatever their faith-background face a number of challenges with regards to the implementation of effective and relevant peacebuilding initiatives as part of their development activities. The development community has sought to meet this challenge by the development of a variety of tools such as Anderson's 'Do No Harm' framework, or Bush's Peace and Conflict Impact Assessments, or through the use of specific tools such as 'Most Significant Change' stories to measure social impacts of projects undertaken. These tools have a theoretical grounding for their development and their use, and this theory has influenced the development of these tools, frameworks and guidelines to assist conflict-sensitive development programming, monitoring and evaluation. Two of the main issues with regards to these tools are the relevance of the tool to the conflict context and the capacity of the organisation to use these tools appropriately.

As a sub-set of NGOs, FBDOs experience their own additional challenges which include the potential to engage with the faith dimension of a conflict context and to work with local faith leaders, congregations and other FBDOs to highlight the peace ethic inherent in the faith experience and cultural practices of the local community. There are a variety of peacebuilding roles that FBDOs can undertake legitimately as part of their development role, and consequently there are many faith-based peacebuilding opportunities for FBDOs to engage in with their distinctive contributions. However, the current tools that exist to assist NGOs in these activities do not make direct reference to faith in peacebuilding activities.

It is clear that FBDOs, faith leaders and faith entrepreneurs are engaging with the faith context in which they are sited, but there is no broad theoretical approach to this work, and most local practice is governed by the local theories of change assumed by the different faith actors. In order to further advance the work of FBDOs in this area, it is important to develop a more generalized theory of inter-faith and faith-based engagement, which can inform and support FBDOs and enable them to realise this potential of faith-based engagement. From this theory, it may then be possible to work with existing tools, or develop new tools which will aid FBDOs in day-to-day practicalities of their work with partner communities.

In Chapter Two I will examine the theoretical concepts that underpin this thesis with regard to conflict theory and faith, peacebuilding and faith, and development and faith and examine the current research literature around the work and role of FBDOs engaged in peacebuilding activities.

## Chapter Two: Inter-Faith Peacebuilding - Theoretical Context

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### 1.0 Introduction

The role of religion and faith in conflict, peace and development is an area that has been largely ignored until recent years. This has partly been due to the increase in secularisation in the Global North reinforced by neo-liberal ideology and an emphasis on market forces, with reduced emphasis on the state (Rakodi 2012a: 638). Recent years have seen an increase in research undertaken into the use of religion as a tool in peace and development (Alger 2002), however, in the past decade there has been a renewed interest and a variety of research has been undertaken with regard to faith's role in peace and conflict dynamics.

The increase in interest in faith as a component of conflict has arisen due to a number of factors. Firstly, with the end to the Cold War it has not been possible to place the blame on inter-state conflicts to competing ideologies, and there has been a decrease in the number of 'proxy' wars that have been fought between the superpowers that had originally been played out in South America, Africa and Asia. Secondly, there has been a growing interest in the role of religion in peace and development sparked by the religious right in the U.S., which meant that the administration under George W. Bush sought to double funding to FBOs during his tenure. Thirdly, the impact of the 9/11 bombings in the U.S. has stimulated an increase in the research being undertaken into religion, faith and its role in motivating violent conflict. Fourthly, there has been a general recognition, that despite the privatisation and marginalisation of faith in the global north, faith in the 'global south' is an intrinsic part of its adherents daily life and impacts the motivations, beliefs and actions of billions of people around the globe. And finally, there has been recognition that FBOs provide many services where there is no state provision (Rakodi 2012b: 622).

Alongside this the potential role of Faith-Based Development Organisations (FBDOs) as peacebuilding agents within a faith context has also been highlighted. FBDOs as a sub-set of NGOs continue to grow and diversify in their activities and are seeking to engage with

peacebuilding as part of their mandate (Gerstbauer 2010). Faith plays a role in many conflict and peace dynamics. In this chapter I will examine the literature regarding faith, conflict, peace and development and critically assess this in relation to the role of FBDOs which have specific potential to conduct faith-based and inter-faith peacebuilding activities.

In Chapter One I undertook an overview of FBDOs and the opportunities, dilemmas and challenges that they experience in undertaking faith-based peacebuilding to begin answering my first research question. In order to fully answer my first research question and to complete a thorough analysis of factors that impact faith-based peacebuilding in this Chapter I outline the theoretical concepts that underpin faith-based peacebuilding. Here I review the academic literature on FBDOs and inter-faith peacebuilding activity. This literature builds on the more extensive body of work from theoretical and practitioner perspectives in closely-related areas such as the roles of religious actors in conflict and development; the review therefore includes studies of these related topics where relevant to my main focus. The chapter is divided into three main sections:

Section One evaluates conceptualisations of the roles of faith in conflict and peace. It focuses on the work of Appleby and Gopin in particular; and demonstrates how the ambivalent nature of faith relates to theories of conflict-formation. Section Two examines the role of faith in peacebuilding, with particular emphasis on the roles of faith actors. Section Three engages specifically with development and religion, the role of FBDOs in faith-based peacebuilding; and the contention that FBDOs are uniquely placed to engage in inter-faith peacebuilding. In this section I review Anderson, Goodhand and Rakodi, and show how their work contributes to the understanding of development and peacebuilding issues for faith-based organisations. The review leads me to ask whether existing practices for assisting NGOs to develop conflict-sensitive programming are adequate to assist FBDOs in inter-faith peacebuilding; or whether a further theoretical model and more appropriate tools are needed.

## **2.0 Part One: Faith, Conflict and Peace**

### **2.1 Conflict Theory**

Conflict between individuals, groups, tribes, and nations is something to be expected and can be defined as an incompatibility of positions (Bercovitch, Kremenyuk and Zartman 2009a: 3). However, when conflict escalates to a point where direct physical violence is taking place, particularly on a national scale, then the conflict may then begin to attract the attention of the wider international community. Armed conflict has been categorised by Harbom and Wallensteen according to the number of conflict-related deaths that occur within a given year as: minor (fewer than 25); intermediate (more than 25 in a year and at least 1000 during the conflict); and war (1000+ in a year) (Harbom and Wallensteen 2010: 501). During the Cold War many of these armed conflicts took place between states. However, since the 1970s and the ending of the Cold War period, it would appear that the number of interstate conflicts has declined, and the number of intrastate conflicts has increased as a proportion of all armed conflict averaging at about 25-30 intrastate conflicts per year. In 2011 the number of conflicts increased to 37 of which 36 were within states (Themner and Wallensteen 2012: 566). Many of these conflicts are asymmetric, in that the conflict exists between the Government or state authority and between smaller groups or factions within their borders who have considerably fewer resources at their disposal (McAuleya, McGlynn and Tonge 2008). In addition, a proportion of these conflicts are split along different ethnic, nationalistic and religious lines giving the basis for a protracted social conflict, whereby there are continued outbreaks of violence over a sustained period of time (Azar and Moon 1986: 394). The majority of these intra-state, asymmetric conflicts are found in sub-Saharan Africa (Haynes 2007: 305).

There has been much research conducted on the potential causes of violent conflict. These have been divided into security, economic, political and social causes of conflict. Security as a cause of conflict originates from a states desire to maintain peace and security within its own borders. We will examine this as a cause of violent conflict later in this chapter as we examine the Global War on Terror (GWOT) and its relationship to intra and inter-state violence. Theories regarding the economic causes of conflict suggest that conflict is an inevitable result of capitalism as hegemonic elites seek to maintain control of their power. Additional theories propose a 'greed and grievance' model of conflict which surmises that conflicts arise because parties have a 'grievance' against another party, or because there are resources available to fund a violent conflict.

Goodhand suggests that it is not the long-term poor who engage in violent conflict in this model, but the 'churning poor': that is those who have lost wealth and status and are thus motivated to regain what they have lost (Goodhand 2003: 637).

Bercovitch et al. posit that conflicts arise when different parties involved in the conflict have a mismatch over the process of resolving the conflict or the outcome arising from an incompatibility of beliefs and values (2009: 3). They also suggest analysing the rewards for all parties around the cessation or the continuation of the violence. However, the most popular method of conflict resolution is through the analysis of the content of the conflict and seeking mediation around this. However, although there has been a growth in the politicization of faith and religion over the last few decades, this has not resulted in an increase in these political causes of conflict being related to faith and faith communities (Basedau et al 2011: 19).

### **2.1.1 Security, Conflict and Religion**

Goodhand comments upon the three different types of security that are found within a state, these are: national security, security as international order; and human security (Goodhand 2006: 30). The state will act to protect itself against any threats that it perceives which may come from an external source, or may be a perceived or real threat from internal actors. The year 2011 has seen intrastate violence in countries such as Libya and Syria, as dynastic rulers have sought to maintain their power and control of government through use of coercive force. Both countries have used the claims that they are under threat from terrorists to try to secure international support for their use of violence as a means of repression. In fact the GWOT has seen a change in government response to intrastate conflict. Instead of justifying a violent response to insurrection by claiming that 'communists' are attacking the State, instead governments claim that violent attacks are caused by 'terrorists' (Goodhand 2006: 32). In the ongoing battle of the GWOT, the balance between security and justice has been altered in favour of security from terrorism instead (2006:38).

The inclusion of human security has arisen as it has become recognised that territorial security of a state does not necessarily mean prosperity and wellbeing for its inhabitants. North Korea for example, has a functioning government with secure military borders, but at the same time has huge levels of poverty and repression amongst its citizens (King and Murray 2000: 587).

Furthermore other threats such as natural disasters also impact the well-being of a state's citizens. The concept of human security is a more 'human-centred' analysis of security that includes well-being, development, and justice issues. Consequently if these social issues are not being met within the state then the state is considered to be 'insecure' for its inhabitants, even if direct violence is not employed. In addition where there is a lack of human security then this may lead to intrastate violence as the citizens of a country seek to challenge the government's legitimacy in the light of its' inability to provide this security.

In the past few years there has been a number of intra-state conflicts within Islamic countries termed the 'Arab Spring'. It could be argued that the citizens of Egypt, Libya, Syria, have responded to the poor human security conditions in these countries challenging the legitimacy of the administration. As the security situations in these countries have deteriorated there has been an increase in sectarian fighting, which has included 'jihadist' elements. In addition the continuing violent conflicts in Afghanistan could be viewed as an ongoing battle with whichever administration was in power due to the lack of human security in the country. These administrations have been challenged by 'jihadist' movements since the CIA-backed attacks on the Soviet administration, with the Taleban rising out of the in-fighting between the different ethnic groups in the post-communist period. The Taleban sought to offer a 'moral' and 'legitimate' rule and improve the security of Afghanistan's citizens<sup>13</sup>. The Taleban's inability to provide appropriate human security combined with the protection of Al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden ultimately lead to the GWOT and the military invasion of Afghanistan by US and UK armed forces. The Taleban continue to question the legitimacy of the current administration through their violent actions.

### **2.1.2 Identity Conflicts**

Many of today's conflicts are fought between people who define themselves as different from the 'out-group', either by ethnicity, tribal affiliation, clan, religion, or nationality and consequently many modern conflicts are termed 'identity conflicts' (Kadayifci-Orellana 2009: 265). Conflicts such as the Israel-Palestine conflict and the war in Northern Ireland have been classified as conflicts of identity, split along the lines of ethnicity, religion and nationality (Appleby 2000). Goodhand points out that there are different views on the role of conflict and identity. He highlights that there are three major schools of thought: those that believe identity is fixed within

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<sup>13</sup> Personal conversations with Afghans who had lived through the various armed conflicts since the 1980's.



each person; those who believe that identity is manufactured by the elites to be manipulated; and thirdly those who believe that identity is fluid, but that it can become 'an independent variable that cannot just be argued away in political or material terms' (Goodhand 2006: 41). Ware comments that group formation can also take place in response to external stimuli such as persecution, causing people to develop a 'shared persecuted identity' (Ware 2007: 49). When a group that recognises itself as an identifiable group is frustrated by reduced access to resources or materials this can then be a trigger to fuel violence, especially if violent action is encouraged by its leaders. These identity conflicts can be seen as part of the underlying cause of many ethno-nationalist, or ethno-religious conflicts, and feed into protracted social conflicts.

Identity conflicts are most pertinent when considering faith as a component of violent conflict and I examine this here in greater detail. It has been stated that 'conflict is a social phenomenon', and the level of ongoing violent conflict is dependent upon the attitudes of the conflict parties towards each other (Bercovitch, Kremenyuk and Zartman 2009: 8). Such attitudes emerge as a person develops. Each person seeks to be 'unique' and also to belong, which leads to joining other 'like-minded' people to form a group that they identify with, the 'in-group' (Gopin 2000: 5). However, running parallel to the search for uniqueness is the desire for 'integration' and for everyone to be similar. These two opposite, yet powerful, tendencies are difficult to hold in balance, with the result that an 'out-group' is formed. In relating to the 'out-group' the 'in-group' develops a sense of moral superiority in its own uniqueness and chooses to relate to the 'out-group' violently and remake it in 'their own image' (Gopin 2000: 6). Religious identities can contribute to this group identity resulting in increased inter-group dynamics (Basedau and Vullers 2010: 7). In addition a religious identity is connected with particular religious constructs around shared values and norms, because it is difficult to negotiate around norms and values, this connection of identity and idea can contribute to violent behaviour by people of faith (Basedau and Vullers 2010: 7).

This sense of 'moral superiority' can be exacerbated in faith traditions that hold 'exclusivist truth' claims and consider themselves to be 'chosen'. Myths and stories that belong to each tradition can then be re-interpreted in the light of the current conflict and used to motivate hatred and distrust of the 'other', sometimes leading to faith leaders calling for adherents to resort to violence in a given situation. This enables leaders to mobilize adherents of a particular faith identity toward political action and violence (Basedau and Vullers 2010:8). Kadayifci-Orellana writes that

politicians and leaders rewrite history and shape the myths and stories around the national identity. This retold narrative alters the imaginations of the adherents and thus becomes a basis for their actions, leading to violent behaviour (Kadayifci-Orellana 2003: 28).

Furthermore Bar-Tal et al discuss the issue of 'societal emotions'; these are feelings both positive and negative that groups of people hold about certain events in the history and life of the group. These events may not be personal experiences, but the behaviour and response is defined by the group (Bar-Tal, Halperin and De Rivera 2007: 442). These 'societal' emotions can be harnessed by leaders seeking to promote a violent response to a perceived injustice. Furthermore it is the context of the society that sets the tone of the emotions that are felt by the group, and consequently it is this societal context which will define the response to conflicts within that society (Bar-Tal, Halperin and De Rivera 2007: 446). If the societal emotion is distrust towards members of the 'out-group' for past injustices committed in the past, and fear or hatred of them, then these emotions can be played upon to promote a violent response. For example the Serbian Orthodox Church played upon these societal emotions with regard to the murder of the 'Christ Prince Lazar' at the Serbian 'Golgotha' by the 'Turks' or Muslims (Goodwin 2006: 26), and in so doing fused together the 'heaven and earthly, political and religious realms' (Goodwin 2006: 32).

### **2.1.3 Religious Conflict Theories**

Secularisation Theory states that 'in the face of scientific rationality' there would be an increase in the marginalisation of religious belief and practice (Dubois 2008: 1). However, despite these predictions the role of religion within society has become increasingly paradoxical. On the one hand there are more people moving away from traditional expression of their faith and religion; and at the same time there are many people enthusiastically embracing the older traditions of their faith background (Gopin 2000: 3). Although the Global North has moved toward the separation of religion and the state, and has an increasing regard for 'privatisation of religion', religion plays an increasingly important role in the everyday lives of billions of its adherents in the Global South (Jafari 2007: 115). About 78.3% of the world's population follow one or other of the world's major religions (Dubois 2008: 1). As a consequence all of the world's religions have infrastructures and communication systems that stretch across the globe (Fitzduff 2004: 12).

Gopin contends that the changes in religious expression combined with a post-Cold War era of greater economic integration and cultural homogenisation have contributed to the destructive and violent use of religion in the modern day (2000: 3). This is due to a 'cultural/religious fractionalization' as different groups rebel against this materialisation and sameness by seeking to re-assert their identities, their roots, their culture in this post-modern world. Appleby comments in a similar manner as he describes the violent intolerance of some religious adherents to outsiders as a response to the 'globalized milieu' (2000: 58).

Faith is recognised as a motivator for violent conflict. Marsh writes that where there are religious differences within a divided society marked by conflict, those religious differences are likely to be emphasized, and that this can lead to an increase in the extent of violence that arises from such conflict. In addition, since the 9/11 bombings in the U.S., there has been a growing awareness of the role of extremist religious viewpoints in the promulgation of violence. The GWOT, although not a religiously inspired conflict has been referred to as a 'Crusade' against a 'band of evil' by George W. Bush during his administration giving it the overtones of a Christian-led conflict. However, between 1989 and 2003 of 218 conflict dyads worldwide only 68 had different religious identities (31.3%) and only 19.8% had a religious component in the conflicts incompatibility, and the percentage within Africa is below average (14.9%) (Basedau and Vullers 2010: 4). This suggests that although intra-state conflicts have increased as a phenomenon, that faith identities are a relatively small component of these conflicts.

There has been significant research in the role of religion and its contribution to violence particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa when many intra-state conflicts occur. Basedau et al. have recently compiled a database of intra-state conflicts examining the role of conflict within each one. The mobilization hypothesis states that when faith is combined with other factors it enables faith leaders to mobilize adherents toward a violent response to conflict. These factors have traditionally thought to include parallel ethnic identities, and changing demographics of faith communities resulting in the politicization of faith. Analysing demographic structures of faith, faith organisations, and the behaviour of faith leaders against occurrences of violent conflict Basedau et al. discovered that parallel religious and ethnic identities did lead to an increase in violent conflict, however the more fractionalised a community the probability of violent conflict is decreased. The significant factors are the dominance of one faith group over another (2011).

Their findings suggest that religious armed conflicts are more often also ethnic conflicts and that more investigation needs to be undertaken as to 'how these overlap in conflicts and politics'.

John Lennon's words in "Imagine" that if there were no religion there would be nothing to live or die for suggest an underlying and common philosophy present in the Global North that religion is the source of all wars and conflicts in the world. However, Appleby states that those who insist that religion is a 'spectre from a benighted past' are simply at one end of a 'reductionist and absurd' broad spectrum. The other end of the spectrum stating that religion is purely a source for good and enlightenment in the world is equally 'patently absurd' though both views remain prevalent (2000: 10). Haynes comments further that highlighting the role of religion in conflict ignores the other causal connections and variables that contribute to violent conflict (2009: 60).

Basedau and De Juan comment that when religion is used to promote violence that this exacerbates conflict (Basedau and De Juan 2008: 18). The factors that seem to encourage the promulgation of religious violence most are the linking of faith and religion either to issues of nationality 'Religious Nationalism' or with ethnicity 'Ethno-Religious' (Appleby 2000: 61). Such conflicts occur where religion is an integral part of the community, and religious institutions have legitimacy. Thus, when religion is a strong cultural identifier, it can be abused to promulgate violence (Kadayifci-Orellana 2009: 265-267). Differences of religion that occur along the same lines as nationality and ethnicity can exacerbate conflicts that arise, 'confounding peacebuilding efforts' (Marsh 2007: 811), yet that does not mean to say that religion is the 'root cause' of the violence. He goes on to state:

Wars fought over concrete economic and political concerns, therefore, may come to be justified with religious discourse, and labelled jihads or crusades, with strong attendant implications.

Conflicts that originally emerged as a result of political or economic concerns may come to be understood and "lived" by members of a community or nation in quite different terms (2007: 811).

This implies that a conflict started for political/economic reasons may develop a social/individual dynamic as a religious discourse is used to justify the violence by community leaders. It is also not enough to say that those committing violent acts in the name of religion are not 'genuine adherents' of that religion (Ilman 2007: 419). Religion is just one of the factors that define a person's identity, and how it is practised in a society depends upon many of the other existing

identity markers within that community. Accordingly religious leaders who have pursued a nationalist or ethno-religious agenda can draw with them adherents who will be guided by their directions over traditions and practice. Thus people who have a genuine belief in the sacred can be encouraged to commit acts of violence (Ilman 2007: 419).

A community containing a mixture of different faith groups and ethnic groups is not doomed to violence; as Haynes points out, Tanzania is the most religiously divided country in Africa, yet there have been no intrastate wars between different ethnic or religious groups (Haynes 2009: 57). Canetti et al. state that it is not religiosity that is causally linked with violence, but instead deprivations that are experienced by different communities (Canetti et al. 2010: 582), and Basedau comments that there is little evidence that religion is at the heart of conflict (Basedau and De Juan 2008: 21). These observations suggest that faith and religion have the potential to contribute negatively to conflict settings, and can be used to legitimise and promote the use of violence. However, it would appear that this use of religion is a cynical manipulation by those in power to gain support, and that religion itself is not the root cause of violent conflicts, but can be a contributory factor toward violent conflict when linked with other key factors such as ethnic group, or perceived persecution and injustice.

Hasenclever and Rittberger have applied a tri-fold analysis to the role of religion and its impact upon political violence. They state that religion can be viewed from three perspectives; primordialist, instrumentalist, and constructivist. Primordialists view religion and faith as an independent variable whereby people will ally themselves to those of a similar faith and cultural background leading to a 'clash of cultures' (2000: 643). Instrumentalists understand faith to have a spurious correlation with political violence in that the causes of conflict remain unequal distribution of power and resources and marginalisation, but members of different faith groups may find solidarity and support which can be manipulated by political elites. Constructivists consider faith to be an intervening variable, and social conflict is embedded in social identifiers such as ethnicity, nationality, faith and ideology. Consequently parties to a conflict are able to identify friends and foe independently of a dispute. This analysis suggests potentially different approaches to managing conflicts (2000: 648).

My hypothesis is based upon the premise that religion and faith are not inherently causes of violent conflict, but can be manipulated or abused to promote the use of violence by its adherents when they are linked with other underlying root causes of violence, and also linked with other social identifiers. This analysis centres on a constructivist approach to the analysis of the impact of religion on political conflict. In the next section I will examine more closely why faith has the potential to be used to support violence or support peace.

## **2.2 'Ambivalent' Faith**

### **2.2.1 The Paradox of Religion and Faith in Society**

Gopin maintains that religion contains within it the potential for violence but also for peace (2000: 4). In addition he states that every major religion has expressed a commitment to peace through its leaders and thinkers (2000: 13). There are many examples of men and women who eschew violence as a means to resolving conflict and choose to act in a nonviolent manner. These 'militants for peace' are just as 'radical' in their desire to live out the truth of their scriptures but they are motivated by the peace ethic that runs through their faith traditions (Appleby 2000: 11). How can two paradoxical responses be made to the same conflict? Appleby addresses this when he talks about the 'Ambivalence of the Sacred'. This ambivalence occurs when a person is in the presence of the Sacred and consequently there are two possible responses he or she can make. The first is that of a fearfulness to be in the presence of something so powerful; and the second is to feel overwhelmed with the fascination of that which is so wonderful. These two conflicting responses encapsulate the potential responses that people can have when confronted with the sacred. This ambivalence is demonstrated practically by two people showing very different responses to the presence of the sacred, which translates into how their faith is practised on a day to day basis (Appleby 2000: 28). Scriptural texts, religious traditions and customary practices can be interpreted in different ways, which leads the way open to a variety of responses. Some of these responses can be violent and others may be nonviolent (Appleby 2000: 29).

These processes can be magnified by the psycho-social processes of identity formation that were discussed earlier in the chapter. Harpviken and Roislien state that religion tends to define unambiguous identities which can be easily accommodated in this psycho-social process (Harpviken and Roislien 2008: 358). The 'in-group' of one faith group uses its traditions and writings to validate its identity, 'why we are the people we are' (Marsh 2007: 812). Religious

traditions also make claims to be the 'Truth' and it explains to the religious community 'why things are the way they are' (Kadayifici-Orellana 2009: 268). The 'Truth' of their tradition then endorses the image of the 'in-group', not only are they 'right', they are 'chosen', and consequently can act violently to the 'out-group' in an effort to subsume or remove them. For example in the recent wars in the Balkans the Serbian Orthodox Church suggested that killing Muslims would provide 'spiritual favour' (Goodwin 2006: 34).

If the religious person is able to balance the two opposing needs of 'uniqueness' and 'integration', this person is most likely to be able to demonstrate their religiosity in the most tolerant and nonviolent way (Gopin 2000: 6). That is if they can enjoy their own identity without removing validity or legitimacy from the 'out-group', then they are more likely to deal with conflict in a way which is open to the humanity and diversity of the other person.

We have a picture of two differing responses to the same stimuli. One response refuses to acknowledge the 'out-group' as a valid entity; and a second response that accepts the 'uniqueness' of the other and seeks to engage non-violently with it. Goodwin in his study on religious peacebuilders in Bosnia-Herzegovina comments that they all had moved from a 'traditional' practice of their faith into a more 'personal' dimension, which opened them up to the humanity of the 'out-group' and gave them the motivation to work for peace, and which he describes as a 'genuine' faith (Goodwin 2006). Rather than talk in terms of genuine or authentic faith Appleby talks about 'weak' and 'strong' religion. In doing so he does not seek to imply that only religious elites can practise 'strong' religion, but rather refers to a person's direct understanding of their faith tradition, its practices and the peace ethic it contains (Appleby 2000). These people are more likely to be able to develop a faith-appropriate response in times of conflict, and are far less likely to be motivated by a nationalist or ethnic rhetoric. Abu-Nimer comments that for many Muslims within Africa access to the Qu'ran is limited, either because it is not available in their own language or because of high illiteracy rates (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifici-Orellana 2008: 14). Limited understanding of religious laws and practices is also common amongst all nations where religious practice has been repressed or persecuted due to the formation of a secular or communist government. This was also the case for religious adherents in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Balkan states (Goodwin 2006). Other faiths that do not have a written tradition are also vulnerable to the manipulation of festivals and traditions for nationalist

purposes (Appleby 2000: 58). This limited access and distance from traditions, practice and scriptures may go some way to explaining the use of religion to legitimate violence in areas in the post-Cold War period with the fall of secular governments, and also the use of faith-based violence in areas of sub-Saharan Africa, where there is limited access to scriptures.

In order to understand the ability to accept the 'out-group' and flexibility toward a more plural society I shall briefly examine the theological processes that are necessary to allow this shift in relationship and attitude.

### **2.2.2 Theological Re-Readings: The Rediscovery of Tradition**

The theological approaches to peace are not clearly defined as many traditions experience difficulties in translating their own sacred texts (Kadayifici-Orellana 2009: 269). This lack of clarity in interpretation can lead to disagreements and schisms within different faith backgrounds, particularly with regard to relating to the 'out-group'. To engage in inter-faith peacebuilding parties of whatever faith background need to have an understanding of their faith which is accepting and inclusive of the 'out-group'. This does not necessarily imply that they see no difference between faiths, but it implies that they acknowledge the right of the other to exist, and to practice. 'Openness' depends on the flexibility of the faith tradition to re-interpreting 'dogmas and their implications' which lead to a rethinking of practice and tradition (Harpviken and Roislien 2008: 355). Gopin echoes this when he states that we need to understand what drives change within a faith tradition toward peace or violence as a reaction to traditional 'enemies' (2000: 59). Bouta et al. state that there is a need to affirm our identity without negating the identity of others (Bouta, Kadayifici-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: 13). Our understanding of scriptures and tradition are to some extent conditioned by the time and space we find ourselves in. As a result these things can change and move either towards peace or towards violence. Any form of inter-faith dialogue is seriously constrained by violent conflict. Faith actors brokering peace will use religion as a source of motivation to bring this violence to an end (Harpviken and Roislien 2008: 362).

There are scholars within all faith traditions who seek to engage with the peace ethic inherent within their traditions. Muslim peacebuilders address pluralistic values such as: justice for all; peace; harmony and human rights (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifici-Orellana 2008: 567) and An-N'aim writes that Muslim scholars have worked on methodologies for reworking Shari'a law in the light



of modern Muslim culture (An-Na'im 2012). Other scholars identify the use of Jihad as a more spiritual battle against ignorance, misunderstanding and intolerance (Kubai 2007: 233). In South Africa traditional Christian perspectives on peace and reconciliation were reinforced by the indigenous cultural practice of 'ubuntu' creating a re-thinking of the tradition (Appleby 2000: 199). Within Judaism there is much secondary literature that emphasizes the ethic of conflict resolution, co-existence and pacifism (Gopin 2000: 66). Acting upon values that lead to socialisation between different faith groups is most successful when faith and its practice is integral to an individual's thinking and action (Harpviken and Roislien 2008: 355).

Central to socialisation between faith groups is our understanding of the 'other'. Ilman writes that how we engage with 'alterity', something that is 'not of us and we cannot own' is fundamental in how we re-read the scriptures and talk with others from a different faith background. In this we recognise what we share and where we differ, allowing for a nonviolent interaction with the other (2007: 423). Our religious understanding and our interpretations of the sacred texts regarding the 'other' does not exist in a vacuum, but is open to re-interpretation and can be reconfigured (Kadayifci-Orellana 2009: 273). As different traditions seek to come to terms with the changing world, increasing contacts between people of different faith traditions, and changes in the political architecture of the world, they are seeking to re-read their own traditions and scriptures.

Despite the many difficulties that peacebuilders have in engaging in inter-faith peacebuilding, and the fundamental changes that need to take place in the understanding and reading of sacred texts, there has been an increase in multi-faith cooperation and communication (Gopin 2000: 4). Faith has acted to contribute to peacebuilding through identity and values clarification and can offer stability through identity (Goodwin 2006: 102), and men and women can be found who have developed a commitment to meet violence and conflict with nonviolence through connecting with the wider and broader network of their faith traditions (Appleby 2000: 302). This is the 'strong' religion that Appleby talks about. A great example of this is Mohandas K. Gandhi, who was able to combine the peace ethic of his own tradition with the best of the traditions from Christianity, Islam and Judaism, and he presented a faith that was both authentic and also pluralist in its acceptance of other faith traditions (Gopin 2000: 23). Gandhi is clearly a world famous example of a religious nonviolent activist, but there exist in many different situations across the globe many

others who are able to hold the tensions of authenticity and acceptance to produce a motivation for peace that is genuinely motivated by their faith tradition.

## **2.3 Appleby and Gopin – Religion, Conflict and Peace**

Two of the major authorities who have examined extensively the role of faith and faith actors in conflict and peace are Scott Appleby and Marc Gopin, and their work gives a broad overview of this field. In his book 'The Ambivalence of the Sacred' Appleby discusses the role of 'religious actors' in the fomentation of violence and also in the process of building peace (2000). He analyses the ambivalent responses that result from an encounter with the sacred, leading either to violence and or to the formation of 'religious militants for peace'. Appleby highlights the need for the broader faith community to encourage peace activists, giving examples of hermeneutical interpretations of different faith groups that recognise a greater pluralism within their own faith group, and that gives credence to grassroots level activists and midlevel actors who are seeking to bring about non-violent change. Appleby does not believe that marginalizing faith, will bring about an end to faith-based violence, but rather it is a strengthening of the understanding of the peace ethic that runs through every faith group that will mean that charismatic leaders are not able to use a faith rhetoric to encourage violence. Appleby contends that for faith to play a role in conflict transformation, the support of a wide range of actors is needed, including secular agencies and he endorses the role of NGOs in this process.

Appleby's main area of analysis is on the role of dialogue and there is little discussion of other forms of peacebuilding activity in his work. Equally, he does not explain how NGOs can have a philosophy of working with faith groups, and how this might impact their own development agendas. In enabling faith leaders to 'strengthen' faith groups understanding of peacebuilding, there is no recognition of how this potential 'missionary work' could cause dilemmas for NGOs and donors with regard to their peacebuilding agendas. Appleby gives an excellent overview of the role of faith in violence and peace, giving inspiring examples of faith-based actors, however there is little analysis of the practical issues that face NGOs or FBDOs in supporting faith actors in their local contexts.

Gopin's work 'Between Eden and Armageddon' (2000) covers the increasing importance of faith in the life of people throughout the world, and its capacity for violence and for peace. Gopin's

work differs from Appleby's, in that he examines one particular faith in detail, that of his own, Judaism, and analyses the peace tradition within it. From this analysis he draws broader conclusions, which can be applied to working with and engaging other faith groups.

Gopin particularly addresses the role of the interventionist in inter-faith peacemaking and suggests the questions that such a person or agency would need to ask to develop an appropriate peacebuilding activity within a location, between faith groups in conflict. He talks of prosocial values, and highlights how research has primarily analysed the negative aspect of religion, whereas researching the positive aspects of how different faiths relate when they are not in conflict may bear more fruit.

Gopin also comments on the role of the NGO, he comments specifically on the Mennonites as peacemakers and praises their longevity and commitment to a culturally appropriate intervention in the field. He does not however, analyse other NGOs whose presence either in terms of non-national personnel, or its own existence in the country may be more transient. These more transient INGOs are the majority in the field and consequently, some of the lessons he draws from the Mennonite experience are not easily applicable to other such organisations. Gopin makes a number of recommendations which are clear but largely abstract. Gopin's work has more practical applicability than Appleby's, as Gopin highlights potential courses of action for faith-based actors it still leaves large gaps between the theory and practice of inter-faith peacebuilding between religious groups by a third party interventionist such as an NGO or FBO.

A criticism in the field of faith-based peacebuilding is that researchers picking up on the work of Appleby and Gopin have begun to think of faith and religion as an 'ahistoric' element without taking account of the role of imperialism and colonialism in the faith identity of a community, and of a conflict (Omer 2012: 9). The 'use' of faith as a 'one directional' factor that impacts the conflict but remains unaffected by the process is not an accurate understanding of the work of Appleby and Gopin who see the interaction of faith and conflict as dynamic. In that faith exists within the cultural and historical life of the community, and faith-based peacebuilding involves an exchange between that life and ideological considerations of faith so that both are changed in the interaction.

I draw on the work of Gopin and Appleby heavily in Chapter Two as they give excellent theoretical background to the role of faith in conflict and peace; however their work is largely abstract and although it significantly informs the discussion on the concepts of inter-faith peacebuilding, it makes limited contribution to the theory and practice of inter-faith peacebuilding. It may be for this reason that some practitioners have taken the concepts that Appleby and Gopin promote and have applied them without due consideration of the relation of faith to the conflict context, and vice versa.

## **3.0 Part Two – Faith in Peacebuilding**

### **3.1 Definitions in Peacebuilding**

Peacebuilding has developed over the years through a logical progression from conflict resolution - the end of violent conflict over a particular issue - to conflict transformation - the transformation of relationships to deal with all issues in a violence free manner - and then on into peacebuilding (Lederach 1997). It is a fairly recent discourse and peacebuilding is the least understood of the triad of peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding (Gawerc 2006: 439). Peacebuilding is complex and multi-dimensional (Knight 2003: 241), and is more often described than defined (Dubois 2008: 1). Seedat describes it as a psycho-social and political phenomenon and something which strives to 'bring social justice, economic equity, political inclusivity and transforming discourses that lead to violence' (Seedat 2006: 832). In practical terms peacebuilding can refer to the task of state-building, of assisting governments to improve their infrastructure, to operate transparently and to provide services for their citizens (Paris and Sisk 2009: 1); but it can also refer to a variety of activities through different levels down to grassroots activities working with civil society actors (Paffenholz and Reyhler 2007: 9). All of these activities constitute peacebuilding, and thus peacebuilding is less to do with the activity undertaken and more to do with its context and purpose.

Peacebuilding seeks to bring about changes in society that will lead to a 'just peace', one in which there is an end to injustice within society, and in which parties in conflict are able to pursue nonviolent means to transform the conflicts in which they are involved, thus implying a change in relationships at all levels of society (Schirch 2004: 9). According to Gawerc this highlights the premise that it is not conflict that is the 'antithesis of peace', but the different forms of violence (structural, cultural and direct) that sit in opposition to a 'just peace' (2006: 439). However, the

literature suggests that although a single definition of peacebuilding may be difficult to attain, the reality is that peacebuilding encompasses a broad range of activities, programmes, and interventions that seek to reduce the likelihood of further violent conflict; and enable a transformation of the relationships between conflict parties.

### **3.2 'Peace Writ Large' and 'peace writ little'**

When discussing the nature of peacebuilding, it seems appropriate to examine the different types of peace that are present in a society. The Reflecting on Peace Practice Project refers to this as 'Peace Writ Large' and 'peace writ little' (sic) (Collaborative Peace Projects 2008). This is the difference between a national peace across a large geographical area, and the peace that is experienced in households, communities, small villages and towns or areas in a city.

Collaborative Peace Projects suggest that activities that address 'peace writ little' must have a cumulative impact upon the 'Peace Writ Large', and that 'Peace Writ Large' cannot be achieved unless attention is paid to 'peace writ little'. The Berghof Research Centre comments that as attention is paid to the restoration of a country's infrastructure, attention must also be paid to the restoration of fragmented relationships and the 'alienation caused by violence' (2005: 24). There has been discussion on how 'Peace Writ Large' and 'peace writ little' relate to each other, and how one impacts the other. There is also a debate as to whether actors working to produce 'peace writ little' can possibly impact 'Peace Writ Large', but these two concepts are accepted within the peacebuilding community as desirable outcomes for peacebuilding activities (Anderson 1999, Goodhand 2006, Paffenholz and Reyhler 2007).

'Peace Writ Large' would normally be considered to be the task of Track I Diplomatic discussions between conflicting parties at national level. It is the work of negotiators and mediators, and those who facilitate such discussions. Track II Diplomatic discussions between mid-level actors may also contribute to 'Peace Writ Large', but these discussions also has the capacity to contribute to 'peace writ little' (Lederach 1997). Activities which impact 'peace writ little' have been described as Track III Diplomacy, or discussions and negotiations at grassroots levels with community leaders and civil actors (Schirch 2004: 69). The actors involved in securing 'peace writ little' and 'Peace Writ Large' are different, and are involved in different discussions and negotiations, however there is some overlap between the different tracks and an opportunity for cross-fertilisation.

### 3.3 Faith and Peacebuilding

The role of religion and faith as a tool in peacebuilding has largely been ignored by the research community, governments and donors (Alger 2002: 97). However, there have been certain circumstances identified where faith and religion are appropriate tools to use in bringing peace. These circumstances include: where faith and religion have been used to promote violence; where faith is a normative part of culture; and where there are faith leaders who are willing to engage in faith-based peacebuilding (Smock 2006: 1). The assertion that faith can be used to build peace where it has been used to promote violence is echoed in Kadayifci-Orellana's work, who states that in a religious conflict the religio-cultural traditions of the conflict must be addressed (Kadayifci-Orellana 2009: 264). Religious peacebuilding is further defined by Dubois who states that it is 'community-oriented processes that are participatory in nature', or in another simpler definition religious peacebuilding is 'peacebuilding undertaken by faith actors' (Dubois 2008: 1). Kadayifci further identifies five categories that identify religiously motivated conflict resolution which include: spirituality; religious values and vocabulary; sacred texts; rituals; and involvement of faith-based actors (2009: 276).

Lederach notes three levels of engagement with three types of actors: Top-level, mid-level and grassroots. Lederach states that mid-level actors have easier access to top-level and grassroots actors than top-level or grassroots actors have with each other, referred to as the 'middle-out' approach, or 'explicit strategic networking' (Lederach 2005: 80). The principle is that key people at this mid-level can have a greater influence on the processes of peacebuilding than people higher in the system or lower in the system due to the strategic networks they make. This does not however reduce the need for key actors at top-level and grassroots level to be involved and working in peacebuilding, merely that mid-level actors have greater networking opportunities for any intervention. Fischer comments that interventions that have been purely led by bottom-up approaches have been chaotic and without direction (Fischer 2006: 17) which implies that all grassroots work needs to be undertaken in conjunction with Track Two diplomatic efforts, and this approach is endorsed by Goodwin in his study of peacebuilding initiatives in Bosnia Herzegovina (Goodwin 2006: 141).

Working with mid-level actors constitutes Track Two diplomacy, and is a more informal method of intervention than that of Track One diplomacy which engages with the political elites and usually involves discussions around ceasefires, peace dividends and the rebuilding of the state's infrastructure. Track Two diplomacy engages with leaders in communication and dialogue, but in a process that is also linked to the wider political processes that are taking place at the time (Gawerc 2006). It is from these discussions and processes that the essential networks for change can be nurtured and developed within and between the different levels of actors.

Commentators have stated that faith-based leaders and FBOs are well placed to undertake this type of Track Two diplomacy. Faith leaders have contacts with politicians and government leaders, as well as having contacts with the grassroots through their congregations. In this way they can act as the conduits that Lederach writes about, and can lead a strategic approach to peacebuilding. FBOs can also act as faith leaders in this context, working at a national, regional and community level through networking with other FBOs, government departments and partner communities. Lederach in his various writings (2005, 1997) developed the theory of mid-level intervention which is almost universally accepted across the peacebuilding field, and his various works have expanded and elaborated this theory. Although drawing upon his experience as a faith-based practitioner Lederach does not specifically write to a faith-based audience with regard to the theory of engaging with those of other faiths. Consequently his work has to be applied from the 'secular' to the 'sacred' setting. Having examined the legitimacy of faith actors as Track II diplomats, I expand on this role and its practice later in this section.

It has been stated earlier that it is difficult to find a single definition for peacebuilding, consequently it is not surprising that there are a number of definitions for faith-based peacebuilding, however I will be using the definition as outlined by Kadayifci-Orellana (Kadayifci-Orellana 2009: 274):

a range of activities performed by religious actors for the purpose of resolving and transforming deadly conflict with the goal of building social, religious and political institutions characterized by an ethos of tolerance and nonviolence.

This definition involves both the double-handed use of nonviolence and the formation of a 'Just Peace', though not explicitly stated. This definition does not specifically state that religious

peacebuilders are engaged in inter-faith peacebuilding, but implies that their work involves cooperating with people of faith. I have outlined the definitions of FBDOs in Chapter One and examine them further in Chapter Three.

### **3.4 Faith Actors**

The 'Reflecting Peace Project state that in bringing about large societal change it is important to bring a critical mass of people to the table for peace to become writ 'Large' or 'little'. However Anderson and Olson write about two approaches to peacebuilding: the first being the involvement of more people; and the second being the involvement of key people (Anderson and Olson 2003: 48). 'More people ' prioritises the dissemination of ideas and information amongst a population so that a 'critical mass' of peace activists is present in the community, driving it toward a nonviolent outcome. 'Key people' prioritises engaging a smaller number of very influential people to drive the peacebuilding process, who will consequently draw the population along with them. Lederach refers to these people as 'critical yeast', that is a small part of a much larger whole with the power to influence, change and alter the shape of the population's thinking and behaviour (Lederach 2005). Ideally peacebuilders start by working with the 'critical yeast' of key people and as these people move and develop in their understanding of nonviolent responses to conflict this 'critical yeast' move the population toward a 'critical mass' of people wanting to see nonviolent change.

The other important factor is getting beyond the people that are 'easy to reach'. The 'easy to reach' are the people who feel similarly about nonviolent responses to conflict and who can most easily form linkages between groups. To bring about lasting change in a society it is essential that peacebuilding strategies engage with those who are feel and think differently from each other, and develop linkages and networks with the 'hard to reach' (Anderson and Olson 2003: 50). Projects that have formed networks only with the 'easy to reach' have not been effective in sustaining peaceful relationships.

Who then is a 'faith actor' or 'militant for peace' as Appleby calls them? A militant for peace is someone who plumbs 'their respective faith traditions for spiritual and theological insights and practices useful in preventing deadly conflict or limiting its spread' (Appleby 2000: 6). Abu-Nimer in choosing faith-based Non-Governmental Organisations for his research used criteria such as: identification of self as a person of faith; linking into the faith traditions' resources; use of religious



values to inspire their peacebuilding work; co-operation with other faith leaders from their own tradition; and being led by someone who is inspired by their religious values (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana 2008: 6). These criteria for faith-based NGOs can in some measure be applied to that of a faith-based actor: that they identify themselves as a person of faith; co-operate with other faith leaders; are inspired by their religious tradition to act in a nonviolent manner; and I would also suggest that they liaise with and co-operate with people of other faith backgrounds.

Although religion can be used as a motivator for being involved in religious peacebuilding, it does not automatically follow that religious peacebuilders are legitimate actors in this field. However, it has been suggested that religion and religious actors have legitimacy in peacebuilding when: the conflicting parties come from a faith background; or when religious leaders on both sides of the conflict can be mobilised to work for peace (Smock 2006: 2). Regardless of the role of faith in causing the conflict, faith can become a motivator for the ongoing conflict (Harpviken and Roislien 2008: 359). In this scenario faith can also be used to bring legitimacy to peacebuilding.

Legitimacy is also conferred to religious actors due to their status within a community; and the ability to converse with people of different faith backgrounds in a language that is not shared by their secular counterparts (Gopin 2000: 18) and religious actors convey moral authority in their work as a peace actor (Appleby 2000: 8). It has also been shown that religious actors have shown a number of strengths which contribute to their ability to be involved in religious peacebuilding. This includes their ability to work with others from a different faith background; faith-based motivation; long-term commitment; and moral and spiritual authority (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana 2008: x). Furthermore Dubois states that faith-based actors have access to 'spiritual tools' that secular organisations cannot use such as ritual and myth which may address the spiritual elements of the conflict (Dubois 2008: 1). Consequently when faith leaders are, for example, able to identify the 'enemy' as 'nationalism' rather than other people they can bring attitudinal change (Goodwin 2006: 141).

### **3.4.1 Role of Religious Actors**

Having established that religious actors have a role to play in religious peacebuilding, the question then remains what is this role? Appleby states that the role of nonviolent religious actors only becomes effective when it is spread over a 'spectrum of actors at different levels of society'

(2000: 122). This is similar to Anderson's statement that for peacebuilding to be effective it needs to be undertaken by 'key people' and 'more people', and both findings highlight the fact that religious actors cannot operate on their own: religious peacebuilding needs to span the governmental as well as the secular to be effective.

Religious actors can be effective at Track I, Track II or Track III levels of diplomacy. They have access to political elites, can form networks across the mid-level actors and have links into grassroots activity (Appleby 2000). Lederach has stated that locating peacebuilding work amongst the mid-level actors, or Track II diplomacy is the option most likely to produce sustainable networks of change within a society (2005). Harpviken and Roislien concur that due to the 'sociocultural and identity-related' aspects of Track II diplomacy religious actors have greatest potential working at this level (2008: 361). Operating at the level of Track II diplomacy religious actors can take on a number of differing roles. Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana have noted a number of roles that religious peacebuilders have undertaken which include; mediation, reconciliation, challenging negative stereotypes, networking, influencing government policy, and challenging cultural practices (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana 2008: 35). Alger has also noted a number of roles that faith actors can have which include advocates, observers, educators, intermediaries and institutional actors (Alger 2002: 106).

In addition to the different roles that faith actors can have in a given context, Appleby observes religious actors working in three different modes that he has termed the 'crisis mode', the 'saturation' mode and the 'third-party intervener' mode (Appleby 2000: 211). Northern Ireland constitutes a good example of religious peacebuilding undertaken in a 'saturation' mode, as it is claimed to have had more peacebuilders 'per head of capita than any other country in the world' (Appleby 2000: 191). However, when considering the role of NGOs involved in inter-faith peacebuilding or faith-based peacebuilding, the role of the 'third-party intervener' best suits their abilities and capacities. NGOs can work both with individual religious peacebuilders and they are also able to work in a Track II situation as a religious peacebuilder working alongside religious peacebuilders (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana 2008: 146).

Abu-Nimer has looked specifically at the role of faith-based actors in peacebuilding. For example he has developed guidelines for practitioners seeking to engage in inter-faith dialogues to assist

in peacebuilding. In addition he has researched the role of FBOs in peacebuilding, developed a definition of an FBO for both Christian and Muslim contexts and summarised the different roles that FBOs can have as peacebuilders. However, he does not have a theory of faith-based engagement which would help FBOs as they begin the task of planning their project interventions. He has provided a descriptive analysis of some organisations, but has not highlighted any transferable principles from their work, and he contends that significant further research is necessary on the work of FBOs in the field of peacebuilding.

### **3.5 Strengths and Weaknesses**

One of the criticisms of the role of faith in peacebuilding is that faith has been applied as an 'ahistoric' concept which does not take account of the conflict dynamic, and that it has been used as the opposite to 'secular' peacebuilding, where in fact the two are not mutually exclusive (Omer 2012:9). As has been examined in the earlier part of this chapter faith has had a significant role to play in the justification of violent conflict in particular cases, and when combined with religious dominance of one group over another there is a greater risk of violent conflict (Basedau et al. 2011:14). In addition post-communist states have demonstrated an increase in the severity of violent conflict where faith and religion have been a factor (Marsh 2007: 812). Consequently people of faith are not 'de facto' peaceful, but express their faith as a component on their lived experience. That lived experience may have been significantly impacted through colonialism or imperialism, and these factors will impinge upon the theological practice of a faith community. Therefore each faith community contains within it both the potential for peace held within the peace ethic of each traditions belief system; and the potential for attitudes of violence toward the 'other'. However, where faith actors maintain an adherence to the peace ethic of their own tradition, they have a number of potential strengths and weaknesses that they bring to peacebuilding.

A key component of faith-based peacebuilding is the legitimacy that was discussed earlier in this Section. When faith actors bring a spiritual and scriptural argument to the pursuit of peace they bring with them a moral authority and sanction for the work that they do. In the last two decades faith-based actors have played important roles in the resolution of intra-state conflicts and have had some measure of success (Bercovitch and Kadayifci Orellana 2009: 177). For a mediation to be successful the legitimacy of the mediator must be established so that they have the trust of all

parties. This legitimacy may grant the mediator leverage and assist in the successful resolution of the conflict (Bercovitch and Kadayifci-Orellana 2009: 181). Additionally, faith-based actors can network with other faith groups that are like-minded extending the constituency to a broader base than just that of a particular organisation. Whether the parties are of different faith backgrounds or the same faith background using a sacred discourse can act to unite different parties, as sometimes just the very fact of 'being religious' is a uniting experience when much peacebuilding discourse is conducted in a secular manner (Harpviken and Roisilen 2008: 364).

However, there are many factors that also impinge upon a faith actor's ability to engage in peacebuilding. As outlined in Chapter One a major weakness is the role of proselytism in peacebuilding activities which impacts the legitimacy of the faith actor in peacebuilding. Even if the actor is not actively involved in proselytism accusations of such activity can seriously hamper their perceived legitimacy within the field. Additionally faith actors may not have particular experience or training in peacebuilding and consequently struggle with peacebuilding activities.

A major criticism of FBOs in particular is the role of women within an organisation. Very few FBOs have women in positions of authority unless they are specifically organisations for women. This is a serious detriment to the role of faith-based peacebuilding as women bring with them a specific understanding of 'just peace' which incorporates their lived experience in the family and in the community, and is often not included by men in their consideration of peacebuilding. Despite this women have managed to circumvent their lack of authority and position within their respective faith traditions and have been powerful advocates for peace in their different communities. Women of faith were particularly involved in the resolution of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Liberian civil war, shaming warlords and the police force by their non-violent protests (Marshall and Hayward 2011: 7).

### **3.6 Motivation**

Every faith tradition has within it a peace ethic which can act to motivate faith leaders and their congregations to engage in peacebuilding. This theological imperative to support peace has often been accepted as the prime motivation for faith actors promoting a peace ethic. One such example is the role of faith leaders in disseminating peace messages at times of violent conflict in an attempt to counter religious calls for violence. However research on the role of faith leaders in disseminating peace messages during violent conflict suggests that the decision to promote these

messages can sometimes be based on pragmatism rather than altruism (De Juan and Vullers 2011:6). Research suggests that religious elites will promote calls for peace when there has been a change in the political or social framework, and that these cannot be explained by 'religious beliefs and norms alone, but by rational decision making' (De Juan and Vullers 2011: 6). Their research suggests that these calls for peace are dependent upon the social and political demographic in which the religious leaders minister. Should the relationship and/or legitimacy of the religious leaders with the government, other religious elites, or their own congregations be negatively impacted by either ongoing violence, or the success of rebel groups, then the probability of religious leaders promoting peace messages is increased (De Juan and Vullers 2011: 13).

This rational decision making of religious elites does not diminish the risks that they take in promoting peace during violent conflict when there are calls for violence from other religious elites. Nor does it suggest that the normative aspects of the peace ethic are unimportant to religious elites. What the research highlights is that the choice to promote peace may also be impacted by strategic considerations (De Juan and Vullers 2011: 21). Neither does the research imply that lay people from the different congregations who engage in peace building do so out of strategic considerations, though it would imply that for all people choosing to promote the peace ethic of a faith tradition during times of violent conflict that in addition to the normative elements of the peace ethic, there may also be an element of rational decision making. I will examine the role of religious elites in peacebuilding in greater detail in Chapter Five as part of the case studies.

### **3.6.1 Criticisms of current faith-based initiatives**

One of the main tools involved in faith-based peacebuilding is the role of dialogue. This has been significant in many different countries where religious differences have been a component of the conflict. Researchers have commented upon the transformative role that dialogue can have in bringing understanding of the 'other' and reconciliation between people involved in the process (Phillipot and Cox 2006: 6). It is important in working with both 'critical yeast' and 'critical mass' to aim beyond relationship building for its own sake. Gawerc comments that just bringing people together is not enough in peacebuilding. People involved in conflict situations have the reality of life to get on with, and 'have more important things to think about' than just promoting peace through building friendships and discussions and therefore these peacebuilding initiatives should

not stand alone (Gawerc 2006: 448). Anderson and Olson note that alongside individual change there needs to be a driver for changes in societal structures and institutions where there is injustice and latent violence (Anderson and Olson 2003: 49). In essence there needs to be a balance between 'more' and 'key' people working individually and within societal structures and institutions. The Berghof Centre for Conflict Resolution also stated that the field will 'lose its credibility' if issues of social injustice are not tackled alongside relationship building (Berghof Centre 2005: 31). Fischer states that conflict transformation is not just about repositioning different parties around a conflict, but is about addressing root causes of conflict (Fischer 2006: 417).

A second criticism of faith actors whether individuals or organisations is a reticence to network with other organisations, especially with secular or government organisations. This can impact the potential of the peacebuilding initiative, and can suggest a false divide of 'secular' and 'religious' peacebuilding. Successful peacebuilding requires co-ordination and cooperation between faith-based, legislative and governmental structures.

### **3.7 Peacebuilding Theory of Change**

A theory of change in current peacebuilding thinking is suggested by the practice of addressing the structures of violence within peacebuilding when working with key peacebuilding actors. This theory hypothesises that if key people can be organised around the non-violent challenge of unjust structures within communities, regions and countries, then this will lead to nonviolent conflict resolution and ultimately toward building peace. This concept is based upon Galtung's work on structural, cultural and direct violence and the development of a 'just peace', and underpins the writings of many authors such as Lederach (1997, 2005) and Gawerc (2006). The theory is one which is commonly accepted, though as yet there is still much learning needed within the peacebuilding community to determine when it is possible to use this theory effectively in peacebuilding interventions.

The peacebuilding theory that involves positive action toward changing unjust structures alongside motivating and encouraging the 'critical yeast' and 'critical mass' of peace activists is one which is best implemented by organisations involved in development activities, as they are already engaged in practical interventions which seek to improve the daily lives of their partner

communities. I shall examine the role of development organisations in peacebuilding in greater detail later in Part 3 of this chapter.

In Chapter One I explored the work of faith-based peacebuilders examining the challenges and opportunities that exist for them. In this section I have given a review of the literature with regard to role of faith peacebuilders looking at a variety of factors that can impact their theory and practice.

## **4.0 Part Three: Faith and Development**

### **4.1 Development, Aid and Faith**

The concept of International Aid for Development began following the Second World War when the US transferred over US\$13billion to post-war Europe for the purposes of reconstruction and regeneration. Known as the Marshall Plan this use of monetary aid was seen as a huge success and responsible for the strengthening of fiscal institutions across Western Europe (Moyo 2009: 35). In the following decades the use and purpose of development aid changed as the concept evolved. At present the majority of aid is targeted at African countries where it has been used to help with industrialisation; bring about structural adjustment; counteract poverty; assist democracy and good governance; and more recently serve as a panacea for all the problems that face Africa (Moyo 2009: 10). At this point over US\$1 trillion has been given by the global north to the global south in grants and loans as aid (Moyo 2009: 35).

Guillaumont considers development aid to be an effective tool in helping developing countries to ride out the financial shocks of a global market, ensuring that their fragile economies do not succumb to the market pressures seen following the global increases in the prices of commodities such as oil (Guillaumont and Chauvet 1999: 9). The World Bank considers development aid as a helpful tool in requiring developing countries to undergo structural adjustment: to address their national economic policies to enable them to compete in a global market (World Bank 1998: iv). The World Bank states that 'development assistance has achieved much' and that poor performance is due to poor policies on the part of recipient nations and weak financial institutions (World Bank 1998: 25).

Gould disagrees with this analysis of development aid and points to the persistent failure of aid to lift people out of poverty (Gould 2008: 1). Moyo comments further that aid acts to foster corruption; undermine democracy; promulgate resource competition and create dependency amongst recipient nations (Moyo 2009). In addition the impact of development aid upon the economies of recipient nations causes increased poverty amongst its population (2009: 62). Moyo highlights particularly that the original intention of aid was to 'promote growth and alleviate poverty' and that if aid is judged against these standards it has 'spectacularly failed' (2009: 150).

Development aid however takes three forms. The first that Moyo and Gould criticise is the provision of grants or loans by international agencies such as the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to developing nations. These loans have led to nations amassing huge unpayable debts many of which have been written off following the formation of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, although the concept and practice of development relief and subsequent high levels of debt continue (Gould 2008: 5). The other two forms of development aid are: Humanitarian and Emergency relief; and Charitable Organisations. Moyo comments that this type of assistance is not without its criticisms but the amount of funding given through these channels is considerably less and consequently has fewer negative impacts (Moyo 2009: 7).

Both Humanitarian and Development activities can have negative impacts upon the context in which they are set (Anderson 1999: 2) and I discuss the role of development and humanitarian NGOs in conflict in detail later in this chapter. Denskus comments that he has found the activities of International NGOs in particular to be un-coordinated, full of desk-based planning with little real connection to the field (Denskus 2007:3). These criticisms are echoed by aid practitioners, however Anderson states that despite the failings of international aid it is a 'moral and logical fallacy' to deny aid to those who need it in the belief that to give no aid would 'do no harm'. To withhold aid in these circumstances would in fact be 'unconscionable' (Anderson 1999: 2). This viewpoint is endorsed by Goodhand who writes that development aid engages with a messy world where there are sometimes only 'least-worst' options (2006: 5).

In this thesis I will primarily be analysing the work of the charitable sector in development aid through the work of NGOs and CSOs. It is evident that this type of intervention has the potential



to have unintended negative effects upon the partner communities amongst which it is set. However, I posit that it has the potential to bring much of value to partner communities when undertaken using clear principles and context-related good practice. I explore this contention further in this and subsequent chapters.

Anderson and Goodhand are two of the leading authors that critique the role of NGOs in development, and identify the negative contribution of such organisations to the peace and conflict dynamics within an area. Anderson's authoritative work 'Do No Harm' engages with the issues of development in conflict and post-conflict areas highlighting the areas where INGOs and expatriate workers can unintentionally contribute to the conflict economy, and support the conflict dynamic in the local context (1999). In 'Do No Harm' she proposes an analytical framework to enable development organisations to consider the impact that their activities have upon the peace and conflict dynamics and to re-design their interventions accordingly. Further research by Anderson highlights the need for engaging with appropriate actors to gain momentum in peacebuilding activities. In her analysis Anderson does emphasise the need to engage with all cultural leaders, which may include faith leaders. However, her analysis does not highlight or examine the role of faith in the conflict specifically, and does not give particular credence to the role of faith in conflict transformation. Although her contention with regard to 'Do No Harm' is valid, it underplays the role of religion and faith and consequently is of limited value to FBOs or FBDOs wanting to undertake either conflict-sensitive development activities or peacebuilding. Neither does her framework relate the role of the peacebuilder to the conflict context.

Goodhand's work analyses the role of NGOs in development and their impact upon the conflict context. Much of his research is undertaken in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka and highlights the roles that NGOs have played in exacerbating the conflict. Despite his assessment of NGO activity Goodhand is hopeful that given appropriate conflict-sensitive planning NGOs can make a positive impact upon the grassroots development context and contribute towards peacebuilding. Goodhand has also researched the role of some FBOs in peacebuilding in Sri Lanka. He has commented on the legitimacy of local faith leaders and FBOs to engage in peacebuilding activities. Goodhand concludes that the conflict context determines NGO response and that it is not possible to have an approach to peacebuilding which is appropriate for all organisations.

Goodhand's contention that context is the most important aspect of any peacebuilding activity, and that poor and insufficient analysis will lead to inappropriate interventions is helpful. However, I intend to show that in this thesis that despite the differences in organisations and context a simple theoretical framework can be applied to enable FBDOs to undertake peacebuilding activities in a conflict-sensitive manner. In addition Goodhand's research with regard to FBDOs is insightful; as he analyses the roles that faith leaders can have in peacebuilding activities and the legitimacy they bring to negotiations and discussions; but he neither addresses operational aspects nor theoretical approaches of FBDOs peacebuilding activities.

One author who has specifically looked at the role of religion and development is Rakodi. She has examined the nature of faith and the ability it has to work with development practitioners to assist in the development process. Rakodi highlights the role that religion has in society, and how faith can act to empower as well as oppress. In addition draws on the nature of faith congregations to perform acts of service and work amongst their communities (2012a: 639). Rakodi has developed an analytical tool for development practitioners to enable them to undertake a contextual analysis of faith in the communities in which development organisations are working to assist in engaging faith leaders and their congregations in the development process. This framework is presented as a series of questions with different factors that need to be addressed to fully understand the faith context in which the organisation is working. Although insightful with regard to the positive role that faith can play in development activities Rakodi does not discuss peacebuilding through development, or refer to conflict sensitive practice, and so although her work makes a significant contribution to understanding faith and development, it does not contribute further to the peacebuilding discourse.

Anderson, Goodhand and Rakodi are all relevant to the study of faith-based peacebuilding with regard to development organisations. Anderson and Goodhand because they highlight the importance of conflict-sensitive practice, and acknowledge the role of faith in this context, and Rakodi because she highlights the importance of engaging with faith in a development context. However, none of them write specifically on faith-based peacebuilding for faith-based development organisations. It is this area of research that I specifically intend to examine throughout the remainder of this chapter and throughout this thesis.

As argued earlier in this chapter faith-based organisations may have a greater legitimacy to undertake faith-based peacebuilding work than do secular actors. Faith has a role to play both in development and peacebuilding activities, and Faith-Based actors are able to operate in this sphere (Willis 2009: 13). Researchers have examined the concept of a faith-based organisation as demarcated from a secular organisation, and there is no one definition of FBDOs. Rakodi suggests that in areas where faith is normative making a distinction between the two both difficult and potentially inappropriate (2012a: 648). As outlined in Chapter One I have given a definition of FBDOs which highlights how difficult it is at times to identify FBDOs in a setting where faith is normative. In countries and cultures where religious expression and activity is so much a part of the day to day experience of people's lives, as opposed to the secular environment of the global north where religious affiliation and practice is seen as a more private phenomena, it may be difficult to clearly identify faith-based organisations. This can cause difficulty when trying to research and assess the impact that faith can make on a peacebuilding process.

FBOs bring a powerful dynamic into the field in which they work: they provide moral authority; link the believer to the sacred and act as spiritual guides (Borchgrevink 2007: 5). Consequently, they can have an important role to play in conflict situations where religion has been used to legitimize the violence being committed. It is not suggested that the work is 'better' than that of their secular counterparts, only that they have the ability to provide a faith-based inspiration for the work of peacebuilding (Smock 2001: 2). There is an increased acceptance amongst secular donors of the legitimacy of faith-based organisations in the humanitarian and development fields and an increasing understanding that faith can play an important motivational role in their work. Harpviken and Roislien write that although the call to integrate religion in peacebuilding activities is 'well-founded' they add that there is 'no blue-print for action' (Harpviken and Roislien 2008: 370). Haynes suggests that for faith-based organisations the integration of peacebuilding elements into their development activities is a good place to begin the process (Haynes 2009: 61). Faith-based NGOs have the ability to work with Track II mid-level actors, and they can also act as a Track II mid-level actor, establishing networks of change within the communities in which they work, and also between communities. These organisations have the potential to span both Track II and Track III levels of engagement and consequently they have legitimacy in this field.

USAID has developed a toolkit to help its field staff engage with faith actors seeking to undertake peacebuilding activities. It acknowledges the legitimacy of faith and faith actors having a role to play in peacebuilding, and gives some guidelines on what elements staff would need to include in project design, as well as examples of good practice (Moberg, Hunsicker and Walker 2009). However, it does not offer a methodological approach to the task of inter-faith peacebuilding, and has no particular theoretical approach to the task. It is a good basis for a donor organisation wishing to engage with FBDOs both international and local, but it is not the missing 'blue-print for action'.

The interplay of faith-based NGOs and faith-based CSOs is seen as critical. Richmond highlights that NGOs can link the global society with the local civil society, enabling a 'trickle down' approach to peacebuilding (Richmond 2001). Furthermore, as Civil Society is seen as one of the mechanisms for promoting the development of social capital, NGOs working with CSOs can foster the development of the bridging social capital that is needed between different faith-based Civil Society organisations to increase the potential for nonviolent conflict transformation (Fischer 2006: 13). However, Fischer states that the involvement of Civil Society in peacebuilding should not be overstated. It is not the panacea that will cure all ills in deeply-divided societies (2006: 18). Therefore it is important to be realistic in assessing the abilities of FBOs, whether NGOs, CSOs or other associations when considering their peacebuilding role.

## **4.2 Development and Peacebuilding Work**

Accepting that the work of Civil Society in peacebuilding is not a panacea, the question then arises: what exactly is faith-based peacebuilding when undertaken by a development NGO? Some development NGOs have supposed that all their work contributes toward a 'more peaceful and just society' and some may just have renamed their programme activities accordingly. However, the growing awareness amongst development NGOs of their impact upon conflict has meant that they have had to consider not only how they undertake their activities, but also what activities they undertake (Bush 2005a: 16)(Bush 1998). This is equally the case for faith-based and secular NGOs.

Development work covers a variety of areas which enable social and economic development of a community. They vary from health and sanitation projects, to medical training and capacity

building. Rural development projects usually involve the building of physical structures alongside elements of training. Most development NGOs have a strategy and mandate for the work that they undertake and their programme interventions are determined by the particular analytical approach they take to assessing their priorities for action. For example a human rights-based analysis would determine project intervention dependent upon a community's ability to access its human rights with regard to issues such as livelihoods, land ownership, healthcare etc. Some development NGOs have added a peacebuilding component to their work by tacking on some training in mediation and conflict resolution for the community elders, or arranging a dialogue between different groups within a community. Although there may be some merit in such activities, these interventions have the potential to be divorced from the root causes of the conflict, and consequently not address the factors that fuel violent responses to conflict. For development organisations to have operational effectiveness within the field of peacebuilding, both development and peacebuilding activities need to have coherence. They must employ an analytical understanding of the conflict scenario and a theory of effecting change with regard to 'peace writ little' which should have some impact upon 'Peace Writ Large'.

Consequently, for faith-based development peacebuilding activities to be undertaken, FBDOs must undertake these activities whilst engaging with faith leaders, faith communities or other faith-based organisations either through a 'secular' approach that is then legitimised by faith communities, or through a more 'spiritual' approach which is recognised as part of a faith tradition by partner communities.

### **4.3 Inter-Faith Peacebuilding Activities**

For faith-based development NGO's to engage in inter-faith peacebuilding requires a religious dimension to the conflict, that there is more than one religion present and operating in society and that there is a need for socio-economic development projects to be undertaken in this area. A majority of inter-faith work has prioritised person-to-person initiatives and there is research into appropriate methods of engaging in this manner (Abu-Nimer 2001). However, when such initiatives are connected to the provision of development activities, participants may feel a compulsion to attend (Gawerc 2006: 456). A second concern about the use of 'dialogue' activities is that unless certain criteria are met, the dialoguing may just reinforce existing prejudices and stereotypes of the 'out-group'. Equally, logical discourse and rational thinking through issues is

only one potential way of bringing people to a greater mutual understanding of each other; there is much that can be achieved through ritual and symbolism that has greater impact upon attitudes and subsequent behaviour than dialogue (Gopin 2000). There is much to explore with regards to the most effective way of working with different faith groups in conflict situations, which gives integrity to both sides, and recognises the disparities of power that may exist.

As I have commented in Chapter One, although FBOs have a number of strengths that allow them to engage in peacebuilding in these circumstances, they do also have attendant weaknesses in addition to the 'secular' issues of legitimacy that other INGOs and LNGOs face, which I outline briefly here. One of these is the use of peacebuilding initiatives as a cover for proselytism of other faiths. One criticism of international FBOs involved in peacebuilding in Sudan was the proselytism of the 'other' faith group. The groups preferred that if proselytism were going to take place it should be conducted by their fellow Sudanese nationals (Lowilla 2006: 27). Ferris comments that the actions of evangelistic Christian organisations who combine missionary endeavour with humanitarian aid impacts inter-faith relations negatively (Ferris 2005: 324). A second concern raised is that inter-faith approaches might try to encourage people to see all religions as the same and not allow them to express the fundamental differences that do exist between belief systems (Smock 2001: 7). A third weakness is that all NGOs are susceptible to responding to the priorities and requirements of the donor organisations as opposed to the actual needs on the ground, and FBOs are equally subject to such donor-led preferences (Bradley 2009: 110). Additional weaknesses identified are lack of focus on results and lack of professionalism (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: x). It is also to be noted that there are few women in positions of authority in FBDOs (Marshall and Hayward 2011: 5).

Holenstein proposes a series of questions which may act to help FBOs as they seek to work in areas of conflict where more than one religion is present. These include:

- is there a programmatic benefit for people outside of their own faith background?
- how is a local FBO linked with civil society?
- how are women represented within the hierarchy of the organisation? (Holenstein 2005: 372)

She proposes these particularly to help allay donor fears of partisanship by FBOs. These questions are good practice suggestions and guidelines, regardless of donor concerns, and they do provide an ethical framework for FBDOs, however, they are not designed to be, and are far from providing, guidance on the practice of engaging with members of other faith groups and beginning the process of peacebuilding.

Omer comments that the field of religious peacebuilding is lacking in 'recognising the full spectrum of its potential contribution' (2012: 15), but for this to happen the critique of faith-based initiatives must ensure that the concept of the 'ambivalence of the sacred' is not reduced to opposing ends of the same spectrum. To do this the role of religion and faith in the history and culture of the conflict context must be examined so that analysts and practitioners do not miss the role of religion in supporting the hegemonic elites. He maintains that religion is not a separate variable which can be used in juxtaposition to 'secular' approaches, but that religious and faith-based peacebuilding must apply critical analysis to its activities to ensure its relevance and not simply uncritically apply the logic of 'ambivalence'. In essence Omer believes that the presentation through research of faith-based organisations as 'good' when it comes to peacebuilding and the research fields' general presentation of 'successful' peacebuilding initiatives presents faith and religion in the context of peacebuilding as simplistic and that a more nuanced approach is necessary for faith-based peacebuilding to reach its full potential. For example, this approach needs to recognise the role of U.S. in neo-colonialism and imperialism and the impact that this has had upon the faith dynamics of a given context (2012: 13).

#### **4.4 Strategy, Policy and Training Needs of FBDOs**

The strategies, policies and training needs of NGOs will vary according to the nature and type of the organisation, its underlying ethos and the quality of the staff employed on the ground and consequently, there is no 'one size fits all' approach to these issues. Research suggests that concerted effort is needed to provide training and capacity development support for Civil Society actors, to enable them to undertake the task of peacebuilding (Hansen 2007: 7). However, it would seem that generally training for NGO workers, whether International or National, is ad hoc, and is not a priority either for the organisations themselves or for the donor community. NGOs struggle to keep their budgets down to a figure for which they can realistically get funding, and

they often feel they are too busy getting on with the job to take further training (Schoenhaus 2002: 12).

Furthermore, it is suggested that not only do the fieldworkers need to have adequate training, organisations who wish to take a conflict-sensitive approach to their work, and to develop their peacebuilding activities need to better evaluate the projects and programmes they have implemented to enhance organisational learning (Ricigliano 2001). Indeed any organisation seeking to include conflict-sensitive training throughout project and programme activities has to undergo training throughout its personnel (Lange 2004: 6). It is essential that donor learning regarding conflict-sensitive practice occurs, and that this learning extends down through the organisational level and continues into the fieldwork setting. In addition to the organisational training, further input is needed to build capacity of all fieldwork staff in areas of peacebuilding, and in evaluation methods (Paffenholz and Reychler 2007: 35). It is acknowledged that the FBDOs have limited capacity with regard to training and personnel resources and consequently are likely to struggle with the process of including peacebuilding in the mainstream of their activities.

There are significant differences between issues that face international FBOs and local, particularly Muslim, FBOs. Smaller local organisations struggle with issues of visibility, often having limited ability to publicise their work or engage in networking activities. The work of local organisations is often reactive rather than proactive, as LNGOs more likely to respond directly to a presenting situation rather than initiate work as part of a strategic process. These issues are compounded by less access to funding, for example DFID will only fund local NGOs through a UK based NGO. This policy is similar to most European countries who distribute international development aid: Norway and Sweden for example will only fund through consortia of NGOs registered in their countries, and consequently local NGOs in conflict zones have to partner with these organisations to attract funding.<sup>14</sup> Concomitant with this lack of funding is a lack of suitably qualified personnel, and appropriate technology to enable distance communication and networking. An additional issue that faces local NGOs is the limited role that women tend to have in the peacebuilding process (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana 2008: 564). These further complications for LNGOs suggest that it would be appropriate for INGOs and FBDOs to work

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<sup>14</sup> This information available on most Government International Development Aid websites



consistently at more effective communication and networking with local organisations. Furthermore, international partners could support local organisations through appropriate training,

There remains a real tension between assisting FBDOs with helpful tools to assist in analysis, planning, capacity development, implementation and evaluation of social change projects; and the need not to over-complicate an already overwhelmed workforce in disparate and complex conflict situations (Leonhardt 2006: 53). The reality on the ground for this workforce is very different from the ideal which is suggested within peacebuilding research (Knight 2003: 242), although this research is essential in post-war countries to increase understanding and awareness of civil society building (Fischer 2006: 26), and consequently how to enable such local organisations in their work of peacebuilding.

In addressing the mismatch between the reality on the ground and peacebuilding theory, Barbolet suggests that a tools 'plus' approach is needed, not just one tool but a menu of guidance and options that can be adapted and localised (Barbolet et al. 2005b: 4). At present this range of tools is missing, and the current tools available make mention of faith but do not specifically address issues of engaging with faith leaders. The USAID toolkit does encourage their staff to work with local faith actors, and includes guidelines on inclusion of religious leaders, and refers to other assessment documents which include religious leaders, but this toolkit is not derived from a particular theoretical framework with regard to faith actors.

FBDOs from an international and a local background may appropriately work with people of faith in peacebuilding activities undertaken through development projects. However, these organisations face issues with regard to lack of expertise, training and mainstreaming of conflict-sensitivity and peacebuilding activities. At the moment there are some tools which can assist but these are not adequate for the purpose of encouraging inter-faith peacebuilding by FBDOs. The tools do not at present assist FBDOs in developing a peacebuilding theory of change with regard to their activities, to understand a theoretical approach to inter-faith peacebuilding, or to convert this strategy into practical outcomes with direct peacebuilding impacts. This thesis seeks to address this lack of a theoretical framework for engaging with faith actors in the global south and to explore the theoretical basis for developing a range of tools to assist FBDOs in inter-faith peacebuilding activity.

## 5.0 Conclusion

In this Chapter I have sought to analyse and critique existing theories and practice of peacebuilding with regard to FBDOs and inter-faith peacebuilding activity. In order to do this I have given a brief overview of the factors that contribute to violent conflict and examined in detail the impact that faith and religion can have upon these factors in regard to the continuation and the escalation of violent conflict. I have demonstrated that in regard to identity conflicts faith can be a motivating factor for violence and can be used by political elites to mobilize adherents of a particular faith tradition toward violent actions. However, I have demonstrated that although religion is an exacerbating factor with regard to violence, it is rarely the initial cause of the violence, though the nature of the conflict may change to include a faith dynamic as the conflict progresses. As part of the examination of the role of faith in conflict I have also explored the 'ambivalent' nature of faith toward violence and peace, and highlighted how all faith communities have both the potential for violence or peace held within their faith tradition dependent upon their response to the 'sacred'.

I have then examined peacebuilding theory particularly with regard to faith and faith communities. I have analysed some of the potential strengths of faith actors engaged in peacebuilding as well as examined some of the potential weaknesses, the role of rational decision making in choosing to promote a peace ethic, and some critiques of current faith-based peacebuilding practice. This has demonstrated that although faith actors have a legitimate role as peacebuilders, they face a number of challenges in this endeavour. Some of these challenges are centred on the limitations of dialogue as a form of faith-based peacebuilding in areas where social injustice have been a component of the conflict. My thesis assumes that although people of faith can be involved in violent conflict, conversely people of faith also have the potential to co-operate with those from differing faith backgrounds to identify the root causes of conflict, de-escalate violent conflict and build peace.

One method of engaging with these potential religious actors for peace is through the work of FBDOs. The role of FBDOs in the area of peacebuilding is a growing one, and yet is not without its dilemmas and difficulties. Despite these difficulties, FBDOs along with secular NGOs remain one of the growing providers of peacebuilding 'services' within the world. Within this sector,

FBDOs provide a large proportion of grassroots assistance to communities, and their work has been criticised in the past for lacking 'conflict sensitivity'. FBDOs are generally trying to respond to these criticisms and incorporate appropriate peacebuilding strategies into the work they undertake. They remain well-placed to work with religious actors at both mid- and grassroots levels, to assist them in the work of peacebuilding and to undertake peacebuilding activities as a component of their development activities.

For FBDOs in particular to meet the challenges of legitimacy, professionalism, and consistency that they face they need to improve effectiveness in their peacebuilding programmes and activities. In order to do this, they need to be aware of the lessons learned by other organisations in the field and become 'learning organisations'. FBDOs face particular challenges with regard to institutional ethos, and risks of proselytism.

Chapter One and Two have provided sufficient evidence to further explore the contention that FBDOs are well-placed to engage in inter-faith peacebuilding activities. FBDOs face a number of obstacles to meeting the challenges of conflict-sensitive inter-faith peacebuilding. This review and summary of the literature indicates that all organisations are struggling with issues of embodying conflict-sensitivity and peacebuilding activities in the mainstream of their development programming and that there is a 'reality gap' between practitioners and academics with regard to ideal peacebuilding activity. This chapter demonstrates that there is a need for a theoretical framework to assist FBDOs to engage with inter-faith peacebuilding, and a need for appropriate tools and guidelines to help move concept into practice. I shall address these issues in greater detail in the remainder of this thesis.

## Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods

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### 1.0 Introduction

Peacebuilding is a growing area of activity amongst development organisations, and concomitant to this growth is an increasing understanding of the roles of religion both in exacerbating conflict and in promoting peace. Some authors argue that FBDOs should be engaging in inter-faith peacebuilding, but there is no theoretical framework for this activity. In this thesis I test the hypothesis that a theoretical framework of reference for FBDOs is needed to underpin peacebuilding in conflict and post-conflict environments. In developing this research I will also generate a theoretical approach to inter-faith peacebuilding which can inform faith-based development organisations working in this field. I believe this will assist not only peacebuilding efforts of faith-based development organisations, but will also assist secular organisations and donor organisations seeking to undertake peacebuilding activities in contexts where faith is a normative part of culture.

To achieve these aims it is important to ensure that the research design is both methodologically sound and appropriate for the multi-disciplinary topic that is under examination. Therefore, in this chapter I address the methodological background informing my choice of methods which enables an increase in understanding of transferable principles of faith-based peacebuilding from specific case studies. I then highlight the reasons for the choice of case study material, their location, and the variables that impact upon the research design. The case studies address the following research questions: How do two specific faith-based organisations in Uganda relate to issues of faith and religion in the conflict context in which they are sited? What roles have they taken as peacebuilders within the context and how has this related to faith and religion? How do these two organisations fit alongside other FBOs engaged in peace and conflict resolution activities in Northern Uganda? I then outline how this research contributes to the theoretical understandings of inter-faith peacebuilding in complex conflict situations, and enhances the current development discourse on conflict-sensitive practice as it relates to Faith-Based Development Organisations.

In addressing issues of methodology it is important to highlight that the unit of analysis is not of the 'beneficiary' community per se, but rather the FBDOs whose work can be evaluated by the

communities with whom they partner. The communities themselves are not the targets of the research. This focus has implications for the type of research methodology and methods that can be used as a result.

In this Chapter I develop the methodological approach to the research and outline the methods used to gather data. In addition I give details of the field research environment and difficulties I encountered.

## **2.0 Conceptual Framework of Methodological Approach**

In conducting research the investigator is trying to seek understanding of a phenomenon in a systematic and logical way which will enable the knowledge base of the research topic to increase as a result, and whose outcome is dependent upon the manner in which the investigation took place (Williams 1996: 7). The choice of methodology is viewed as intrinsic to good research methods (Wilson and McCormack 2006: 47). Yet not all forms of research fall naturally into the formation of a hypothesis, and some disciplines are more suited to the development of 'discovery' through research than the empirical testing of hypotheses (Schmitter 2008:207).

Approaches to research methodology depend upon its ontological and epistemological roots. That is to say, it depends upon how we interpret the world around us, and how we understand the best way to learn about that world. In effect research depends upon whether we see the world as something that is objective: that has truth and certainty which is completely independent from those who observe it. Or, whether we see the world as something that is subjective, in which there are many truths interpreted in many different ways depending upon who is doing the observing. Our observations and experiences have major implications for our research and the manner in which we then decide as to how we examine that world and learn about its nature. Neither is research an either/or option to one of these approaches, but a combination of these different viewpoints and approaches is possible, yet it is important to understand the theoretical tradition that underpins the methods of the research being undertaken (Della-Porta and Keating 2008b: 9).

For those approaches in which the world is an 'objective reality', research methodologies are usually underpinned by a 'positivist' perspective. That is the researcher is in theory separate from the thing that is under investigation, and consequently all observations are ideally neutral (Della-Porta and Keating 2008b:23). This view of the world is countered by the 'interpretivist' or 'social constructionism' approach, which highlights that no-one can stand apart from the world in which they live, and consequently research and researchers will impact upon the subject under investigation (McCandless 2007:121). Furthermore such theoretical positions suggest that there is no one single reality, but there are multiple realities that exist as separate for the researcher and those involved in the research (Tinsley 2005:186). These two different theories of the understanding of knowledge underpin and often coincide with different types of research known as qualitative and quantitative. As the name suggests quantitative research tends to focus on producing results of a numerical or statistical nature, which can be verified, cross-checked or proved false if necessary. Equally, qualitative research focuses on things that are more difficult to quantify, such as attitudes, beliefs, approaches, concepts and activities, and the meanings that people attribute to these things. It has usually been suggested that quantitative research is undertaken by positivists and qualitative research is undertaken by interpretivists, and although this may work as a general rule, this is a confusing of different epistemological theories with different methodologies (Della-Porta and Keating 2008a: 26). The methods by which we gain the information and data we need are merely that, methods. The theories that underpin why we are gathering the information in this way is what determines our use of these methods.

The different epistemologies range from positivist, through to post-positivist, interpretivists and humanistic, these can be allied with different methods ranging from the use of mathematical models and statistical analysis through to quantitative interviews, information gathering which seeks to understanding meaning through contextual analysis and onto empathic interactions between the researcher and the research (Della-Porta and Keating 2008a:32). This can be represented in the following table:

Table 3.1 Methodological Approaches to Research

	Positivist	Post-Positivist	Interpretivist	Humanistic
Which Methodology?	Empirical Can the hypothesis be proved false?	Empirical, Can the hypothesis be proved false in this context?	How does this relate to its context?	What are the values, meaning and purposes represented here?
Which Methods?	Imitation in situ experiments, mathematical models and statistical analysis	Imitation in the laboratory using experiments, stats and quantitative interviews	Analysis of context, seeking the meaning behind actions	Interacting with the research subject, seeking to understand empathically

In this way we can see that our viewpoint of the world and how we interact with the research subject enables us to draw upon a variety of different research methods that will aid our understanding of the research topic.

Peace research overlaps a variety of different disciplines and was only established as a normative interdisciplinary field in the 1960's (Paffenholz and Reyhler 2007:30). Researchers must consider a variety of different research areas including psychology, political science, communications and sociology amongst others as well as examining closely the area of conflict resolution (McCandless 2007:32). Furthermore combining peace research with development interventions brings another discipline into the area of research, making the analysis even more complicated. An area such as peace research does not fall easily into hypothesis formation and the preparation of falsification experiments; rather peacebuilding and consequently peace research is seen as context specific and dependent upon the human interactions of those involved in the conflict. Any researcher entering into the context brings with them their own worldview, experiences and values which will impact upon the hypothesis formed and the interactions with the research subjects. As researchers seek to understand what they observe, they come with their own hypothesis and theories and thus these observations are 'theory-laden'

(Williams 1996:18). Consequently I will be following an interpretivist methodology as the epistemological theory underpinning this methodology is best suited to this type of interdisciplinary social science research. I will be using methods that are related to an interpretivist methodology. Peace research is one that lends itself to a humanistic approach, in seeking to develop an empathetic connection with the research subjects; however, such an approach is by its nature one which is resource heavy involving a large time commitment as the researcher develops an empathetic relationship with the research subjects and works with them in developing the research topic. This methodological approach is valid for this type of research, but for the purposes of this particular study is too resource intensive.

It is important to note that all the previous discussions about the ontology and epistemology of research, and the impact upon methods of gathering data are all firmly rooted in a worldview originating in the 'global north'. Other ways of looking at the world and of understanding the nature of the world exist. McCandless comments on a number of African worldviews of peace and highlights the Ubuntu worldview, which is from an African Traditional Religion perspective (2007:121). Many others exist and it is important that research undertaken by researchers indigenous to the area takes place, perhaps using an indigenous theoretical perspective for the research that they do. However, for the purposes of this research I will use a theoretical worldview with which I am well acquainted, and in which I am able to produce writing of an appropriate academic standard for this thesis. Consequently I will use a 'global north' framework of research.

### **3.0 Data Collection and Handling**

Within Peace Studies and Peace research there is a strong normative element, in that those undertaking the research want the information gathered from the research to have an influence on the policy and practice of peacebuilding and conflict resolution (McCandless 2007:45). As a result it is important that the research undertaken is such that generalizations can be extrapolated to other similar cases or units of comparison. This has implications for the manner in which the research is conducted.

Mair contends that all social science research is invariably some form of comparison. Whether between countries or cases, information and knowledge are gained from the comparison of units



(2008: 171). Other commentators note that a good research design is one which manages well the two issues of comparison and control (Bechhofer and Patterson 2000: 2). The key is to ensure that the comparison of cases is controlled in such a manner that it is possible to extrapolate from the information gathered and to make generalizations about similar cases. To be able to make a good comparison it is essential to know what it is that is being compared, what are the 'concepts' that are being compared, and how will this be done (Mair 2008: 179). In defining research terms this clarity is critical, as there is much agreement in the peacebuilding and conflict resolution on the use of terms, but there is disparity upon what is meant exactly by those terms. Peacebuilding itself is one such term which is recognised as a concept, but has many different connotations and is understood differently by different actors within this arena. Consequently in determining the case study it is important to define the concepts that are being studied.

Studying inter-faith peacebuilding of Faith-Based Development NGOs is a subject that covers a variety of fields and disciplines. As mentioned in the second chapter we are looking at issues of international relations; conflict theory; peacebuilding theory; sociology of religions; identity theory; and sociology of organisations. In such circumstances it would be appropriate to develop a multi-lens analysis to the research study (Druckman 2009: 119). The need for this approach to the research is due to the complex nature of the subjects being studied and the overlap between the different fields. The multi-lens analytical approach is similar to 'triangulation' when a variety of different methods of analysis are used, to enable verification and comparison between them (Della-Porta and Keating 2008a:34). This approach also implies that there may be more than one way of viewing a situation and possible plural interpretations. McCandless comments that use of more than one method of gathering data ensures that results are not skewed or biased from coming from one data source (McCandless 2007:140). A variety of methods means that the validity of the data, and any consequent generalizations, can be cross-referenced.

### **3.1 Case Studies**

In looking for appropriate methods to explore the nature of FBDOs and their capacity to engage in inter-faith peacebuilding it is essential to recognise that such organisations are not monolithic entities with the same rules, roles and functions in their communities. They vary by faith, denomination, national make up, ethnic composition and interaction with the community in which they find themselves. I am aware from personal experience that a Lutheran from a North

American background has a very different perspective to working in the field than a Finnish Lutheran, let alone someone of a different faith background, working in a different context. Consequently it is impossible to make generalizations about all such organisations. Equally, contexts vary dramatically. The conflict situation in Afghanistan, from where most of my personal experience comes, is very different from the conflict situation in Northern Ireland, the Middle East or Sub-Saharan Africa.

Yet, these organisations will face similar issues, which are context dependent, but the lessons from which may be transferable. So, the question is, how do we engage with those issues and contexts? It is not possible to examine all the organisations within a particular context in any in-depth manner that would give 'thick description' of their activities and the difficulties that they face. So, there must be a trade-off between the number of variables that you can study and the number of units (Schmitter 2008: 237). Della-Porta states that using a small-N comparison using a dense narrative description for case-oriented studies will throw up similarities and differences, where the researcher is looking to see how variables 'fit together' rather than find a causal relationship between them (2008: 204). However, though it may be difficult to generalise about the cases themselves, it may be possible to generalise about what factors are important to consider in inter-faith peacebuilding, and how these should relate to each other to enable inter-faith peacebuilding to be effective in different contexts.

### **3.1.1 Types of Case Studies**

Druckman describes four kinds of case-study. These are: 'the enhanced case study; the time-series analysis; the focused case comparison; and aggregate or large N case studies' (Druckman 2009: 125). The enhanced case study would look at one particular case in great depth and detail, which may be useful for throwing up hypotheses about such organisations (Vennesson 2008: 227), but would give little information with regard to similarities or differences between this case and other cases that may differ. In trying to generate further hypotheses or theories for FBDOs engaging in inter-faith peacebuilding, it is important to identify the different issues and difficulties that they face: in order to establish the factors that would impact different FBDOs in different scenarios and how these factors relate to the organisation and the inter-faith peacebuilding role they want to develop. As a result I decided to conduct my research using a focussed case study comparison which can lead to an increase in understanding (Keating 2008: 103).

I also determined what manner of case-study research would highlight these differences. There are two general methods of comparing cases and these are the 'Most Similar Cases' and the 'Most Different Cases'. With the similar cases the two units being studied are similar in all regards except for one variable, in the most different cases the two units being studied are completely dissimilar except for one variable (Levy 2009: 75). The difficulty of course lies in identifying cases that do follow this pattern, either completely similar, or completely different. If the cases are too dissimilar then it is not possible to compare the two and no hypotheses or generalizations can be made (Mair 2008: 177). However, it is suggested that research often mixes the two types, or approach, though the most-different design produces more generalizable results (Della-Porta 2008: 215).

Coenen and Khonraad discuss the use of an 'exemplar' in action research. This is a theme or set of themes which are made up of social phenomena. These themes are seen as valuable for research by the researcher and the researched groups, and they are 'exemplarian' because it is believed that the research has value in other comparable situations. In this case one seeks a 'type' of case in which results can be extrapolated across (2003: 448). In action research the participants in the research and the researcher set the parameters of the research and the learning to take place, it is a much more interactive and participatory process than case-study evaluation. The goal of such research is to resolve social problems and develop the capacities of all actors in this area. If my research were more specifically on working with communities to undertake inter-faith peacebuilding, I would use this method of research with a community, and define with them these parameters, and use this as an exemplar. However, because I am working with organisations working to strategic plans, donor contracts and established programmes and projects, I do not think that in this context action research is the most feasible for the research question in hand. As a result I use a 'case-study evaluation' model to research projects that had taken place in 2008, just before my fieldwork. This model was less participatory than action research, but does allow organisational learning.

### **3.1.2 Evaluation Research**

Evaluation as a form of research is an accepted form of information gathering in the social sciences. However, it has been suggested that it is not enough to evaluate the intervention, or

compare interventions, but it is also important to understand 'why a programme works, for whom it works, and in what circumstances it works' (Wilson and McCormack 2006: 51). In endeavouring to understand how 'inter-faith peacebuilding works and the principles that underlay this success, discovering 'what works' is not so important as 'why it works', These concepts or principles may form an understanding of what may work in different contexts.

One approach to evaluation is that of critical realism. In critical realism it is not only essential to understand the causal relationship between actions and events, but equally important to use qualitative methods to enable insights into the social context (Wilson and McCormack 2006: 46). It is not enough simply to state that 'A + B = C', but why does 'A + B = C' in this specific context. 'This is what forms the basis of the theoretical underpinnings of realistic evaluation research' (Wilson and McCormack 2006: 48). A critical approach to evaluation research highlights the historical, the structural and the social phenomena that underpin the interventions (McCandless 2007: 197). In this research I examine these aspects of both the 'cases', and also the contexts in which they undertake their development activities.

As a result there remains a tension within evaluation research, which is that as research moves from a purely interpretive approach to a critical approach, then the data becomes less generalizable (McCandless 2007: 198) and all generalizations that come from these research methods should be carefully scrutinized (Schmitter 2008: 290). In this research I am seeking to understand how the cases have produced the outcomes that they have, and particularly within their given context. It is also important to understand the underlying principles of these interventions that are transferable to other settings and other faith contexts. Thus, I am seeking to make some generalizations from the information learned from these cases in this setting into other settings. For this reason I will use an interpretive approach in my evaluation research, with some cross-over into a more critical understanding of context to enable development of a theoretical underpinning to inform generalizations from these cases.

### **3.2 Evaluatory Tools**

In seeking to understand the impact of an intervention upon the 'levels of peace' experienced by communities, it is essential to use evaluation tools which will allow both a formative understanding of the intervention: that is one which enhances organisational learning; and a

summative understanding of the intervention: that is one which looks back upon the intervention and assesses its impact (Paffenholz and Reyhler 2007: 37). Key to understanding levels of 'peace' is measuring these levels of 'peace' as experienced by the community. In addition the intervention cannot be fully assessed without analysis of the context in which it has taken place, the interventions interaction with that context, and the impact of the intervention outcomes upon the context.

One evaluatory tool that has been used for the purpose of understanding the context, the impact of the intervention upon 'peace' and the interaction between the two is the Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA). It is a tool which enables a systematic approach to understanding the impact that development interventions have had upon the peace and conflict context in which they operate (Bush 1998: 5). PCIA's have not been met entirely without criticism. Hoffman states that the PCIA does not measure the dynamic interactions between sectors, and that they are more explicitly tailored towards development activities with a peacebuilding focus (Hoffman 2006: 10). As the study will involve looking at the interventions of development organisations with a peacebuilding focus the second of these criticisms does not affect this study. However, the initial criticism that it is not possible to measure in a PCIA how the different sectors interact with each other, i.e. how does improved social empowerment impact upon military intervention, is a valid criticism of the use of this tool.

Neufeldt addresses this issue when she discusses the use of different evaluation techniques for development organisations. She sees the issue as being balancing the needs of those who follow a 'quantitative' approach to evaluation of projects in which the project outcomes are measured against easily identifiable targets and a more 'qualitative' approach to evaluation of projects in which social change is measured by the experiences of the beneficiaries. She outlines two methods of evaluation which enable learning, and demonstrate interaction between sectors (Neufeldt 2006). The first of these is the 'theory of change' concept. When planning the intervention organisations need to make explicit their logic as to why this intervention will impact the peace and conflict dynamic. Then if their theory is correct there may be a measureable impact upon the conflict dynamics which can be determined in a PCIA. Paffenholz and Reyhler also state that to measure peace it is essential to understand the project designers implicit 'hypothesis of change' (2007: 43).

A second measurement is that of the Most Significant Change Stories pioneered by Davies and Dart. This is a tool in which the 'beneficiary' group highlights at the beginning the different sectors in which they wish to see change, and in a participatory manner they decide with the implementing organisation what interventions will impact those sectors. Then on a regular basis people are asked if they have seen any significant change as a result of the implemented project in the indicated areas (Davies and Dart 2005). Although this tool should be implemented at the beginning of the project to enable the community members to highlight the areas in which they want to see change, it is possible to use the questions as a post-intervention evaluation technique to draw out the social and sectoral changes that the local communities have seen and associate with the intervention undertaken. Paffenholz and Reychler comment that although researchers have dismissed evaluations as not useful for research Paffenholz and Reychler contend that impact-focused evaluations have much to offer peace research (2007: 40).

In evaluating these case-studies I take elements of several of the above and use a modified PCIA based on Bush (1998), Hoffman (2006), Leonhardt (2006), Neufeldt (2006) and Paffenholz and Reychler (2007), which include additions to the questions, thus seeking to incorporate some of the criticisms levelled against PCIA as evaluatory tools, and also to improve the PCIA as a research tool. In addition to this I will research the organisations 'theories of change' in the implementation of the development work in relation to its peacebuilding component, and in addition to this will use a Most Significant Change Story method in engaging with the communities that have taken part in development interventions. Furthermore I will undertake desk-bound research in looking at assessments, project plans and proposals and also undertake interviews of different members of the organisations to analyse organisational context and social phenomena. This should enable me to gather 'thick description' of the cases being compared, and to highlight similarities and differences between them. It will also allow triangulation of results increasing the validity of the findings from using just one evaluatory tool (Schmitter 2008: 290).

### **3.3 Defining Terms**

The aim of the research is to gain a better understanding of why peacebuilding and development interventions do or do not work in certain contexts. The particular context I want to explore is one in which religion has been used to exacerbate violent conflict, and in theory could be used as a means of de-escalating violence or of peacebuilding in a post-conflict period. In this regard it is

the organisation that is being studied, and it is also the intervention and the context of the intervention that is being studied. These all add different concepts to the research study. A concept is a 'unit of thinking' and needs to be clear in the research methodology so that it can be compared appropriately with other researchers' studies. The definition of these concepts is important because although many terms or ideas are understood, the understanding of these concepts may vary from discipline to discipline, or researcher to researcher. There are many concepts that are accepted, but their definition is contested, and researchers and practitioners argue about their meaning (Mair 2008). Consequently two people may both be researching the same concept, but have different understandings of what that concept entails. Five key concepts I include in my research design are those of peacebuilding, inter-faith peacebuilding, relief and development NGOs, Faith-Based Organisations, and also a political context of protracted social conflict. I discuss these terms in detail below, following the introductory remarks in Chapter One.

### **3.3.1 Peacebuilding**

Peacebuilding as a concept came into being in 1992 in the UN 'Agenda for Peace' (Smith 2004: 20). Originally it was defined as 'action to identify and support structures to consolidate peace in post-conflict countries in order to avoid a relapse into conflict' (Tschirgi 2004: 1). However, this understanding of peacebuilding has broadened and now includes a range of activities. The Utstein report in its peacebuilding palette describes peacebuilding as activities that take place within a number of sectors. These sectors include activities within security, political framework, socio-economic foundations, and reconciliation and justice (Smith 2004: 10). Thus, peacebuilding activities vary in range and scope from formal 'statebuilding' including government structures and institutions, including the military (Paris and Sisk 2009); to activities undertaken by grassroots organisations at a local and community level (Gawerc 2006).

The interdisciplinary nature of the field means that different organisations approach the role of Peacebuilding from different angles depending upon their viewpoint and skill-base. Consequently, peacebuilding efforts may range from activities designed to bring about social change, or may involve mediation and negotiation between conflict parties (Chigas and Woodrow 2009: 51). 'Peacebuilding from below' grew out of the failure of top-level peacebuilding activities and has been spear-headed by the development community (Pearce 2005: 48). However, most development commentators such as Anderson and Goodhand would contend that the activity

itself cannot be construed as peacebuilding, unless it has been undertaken in a conflict sensitive manner (Anderson 1999, Goodhand 2006).

In my research on peacebuilding, I am seeking to explore the work of development organisations. The role of development organisations governs the type of activities that they are able to undertake as peacebuilding activities, and I intend to use a definition of peacebuilding as appropriate for development organisations in post-conflict settings. Paffenholz and Reyhler in their work on development and peacebuilding define peacebuilding as:

an overarching term to describe a long-term process covering all activities that aim at preventing and managing armed conflict and sustaining peace after large-scale organised violence has ended. Peacebuilding covers all activities that are linked directly to this objective over five to ten years (2007: 8).

Paffenholz and Reyhler go on further to define peacebuilding and development as activities that 'indirectly' contribute to the peacebuilding process through development activities (Paffenholz and Reyhler 2007: 9). Consequently, in my research I am seeking to understand the nature of the development activities that have been undertaken, and how these have sought to prevent or manage armed conflict, or sustained peace after the violence has ended.

### **3.3.2 Inter-Faith Peacebuilding**

The literature has varied definitions for 'religious peacebuilding', in that these are peacebuilding activities undertaken by religious actors. Dubois defines such peacebuilding as '1) motivated and strengthened by religious and spiritual resources, and 2) with access to religious communities and institutions' (Dubois 2008). Kadayifci-Orellana further defines religious peacebuilding as:

a range of activities performed by religious actors for the purpose of resolving and transforming deadly conflict with the goal of building social, religious and political institutions characterized by an ethos of tolerance and nonviolence (Kadayifci-Orellana 2009: 274).

The key to these definitions revolves around the spiritual or faith-based motivation of the person or people undertaking the peacebuilding activity. Kadayifci-Orellana goes on to describe a number of characteristics that identify religious, or faith-based conflict resolution activities. These



include an underlying spirituality, religious values and vocabulary, sacred texts, ceremonies and rituals, and the presence of faith actors. Faith actors are further defined as:

those organizations, institutions and individuals who are motivated and inspired by their spiritual, religious traditions, principles and values to undertake peace work, these faith-based or religious actors uphold, extend and defend norms and precepts of their religious traditions (2009: 276).

I would suggest that religious peacebuilding is an essential component of inter-faith peacebuilding, but an additional characteristic is that either the religious actors have to come from more than one faith background, or they are engaged in activities that span different religious congregations. Inter-faith peacebuilding thus then grows out of inter-faith activity which is designed to prevent or manage armed conflict or sustain peace after the violence has ended. Such inter-faith activity has been described as 'community-oriented and relationship-centred' (Dubois 2008). Abu-Nimer contends that inter-faith peacebuilding activities are aimed at 'changing the worldview' of those taking part, particularly with relation to the 'other' faith group (2001: 688). Changing the 'worldview' of someone from a different faith background may or may not be possible, however, enabling different faith communities to live with mutual tolerance and respect may be more achievable, and consequently contribute toward a sustainable peace.

### **3.3.3 Relief and Development NGOs**

NGOs grew in number and remit significantly following World War II (Ferris 2005: 314), and have been defined as:

a private, self-governing not-for-profit entity characterized as a bridging facility between the official and the grassroots levels, acting as advocates for the grassroots and implementers of Governments and INGO programmes (Hansen 2007: 6).

NGOs can undertake a range of activities, and usually function to meet a need that a government is unable or unwilling to meet. Many NGOs focus upon humanitarian and development assistance. They may be INGOs, which have moved into an area, or local NGOs that have grown as a response to a local need that is not being met by a government. Humanitarian relief is generally seen as different from development relief. The former supports communities at times of emergency, working with communities affected by natural or man-made disasters and supplying

resources such as shelter, food, water, or medical aid to sustain life. Development relief is provided post-emergency, and is seen as a participatory activity that helps to strengthen communities and empower them to be more resilient to potential future hazards. This is usually undertaken through socio-economic activities.

Humanitarian and development organisations have different underpinning philosophies and this has impacted their desire to engage with issues such as conflict-sensitivity. Humanitarian organisations are more reticent to embrace this concept as they see the overwhelming responsibility is to care for those in extreme distress whatever the political or military implications may be in the future. Development organisations see that the long-term impact of their work could potentially be damaged by future violent conflict, and consequently have taken the issues of conflict sensitivity more seriously in their activities. However, both types of organisations are involved in peacebuilding and receive funding for undertaking peacebuilding activities as part of their programming, and in fact some organisations such as Tearfund, Oxfam and Save The Children undertake both types of activities a part of their mandate (Chigas and Woodrow 2009: 51).

I shall examine development activities primarily in my thesis because the longer-term nature of these interventions gives greater opportunity to evaluate the sustainable and enduring impact that they have made upon communities, and to examine any intended or unintended consequences of the activities.

### **3.3.4 Faith-Based Development Organisations**

As the number and extent of NGOs has increased in the last 70 years the number of Faith-Based NGOs has increased accordingly. Ferris contends that there is no generally accepted definition of a Faith-Based Organisation, though they are characterised thus:

affiliation with a religious body; a mission statement with explicit reference to religious values; financial support from religious sources; and/or a governance structure where selection of board members or staff is based on religious beliefs or affiliation and/or decision-making processes based on religious values (Ferris 2005: 314).

This definition may be appropriate for an International Faith-Based NGO, but Bouta et al, have commented that many local NGOs, that exist in a culture where faith is normative may not have such obvious criteria, but still operate from faith values. They developed two specific definitions looking at Muslim and Christian organisations, the former mainly being local indigenous organisations and the latter being International organisations. The definition for Muslim organisations could also transfer to Hindu, Sikh, or Buddhist organisations where these faiths are present and part of local cultural practice. This definition states that faith-based organisations are those who identify themselves as faith-based, or are led by religious actors, or who deliberately work with faith-based organisations, or use faith-based teachings or practices to resolve conflicts, or who are inspired by faith values (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: 6). I find this definition more pertinent than that used by Bradley who uses a 'spectrum' to identify how faith shapes identity and practice (Bradley 2009: 102). For the purposes of this thesis I define a FBDO as an organisation with faith-based characteristics, which is engaged in socio-economic activities with partner communities and examine the definition further in Chapter Three.

### **3.3.5 Protracted Social Conflict**

Since the end of the Cold War period there has been a change in the dynamics of contemporary conflicts. Historically the majority of armed conflicts have been fought between two sovereign territories, however, recent studies demonstrate that there have been an increasing number of armed conflicts occurring within sovereign territory, and these intra-state conflicts now outnumber inter-state conflicts as the main form of armed conflict. In 2009 36 armed conflicts were active in 27 locations, all of which were fought within states and only 7 of which were internationalised. (Harbom and Wallensteen 2010: 501). Intra-state conflicts have demonstrated a tendency to reach a cease-fire or find some form of peace treaty, but within a short time the peace agreement is broken and there is a return to armed conflict. Research indicates that these regularly recurring conflicts most often occur in situations where the country and its neighbouring territories are split along lines of race, ethnicity and religion. These conflicts are more than identity conflicts, although identity is one of the key components of the conflict (Paffenholz and Reyhler 2007).

The term 'protracted social conflict' (PSC) has come to be used to describe conflicts whereby the source of the violence is not due to competing national interests but is as a result of 'conflicting socio-cultural-ethnic relationships amidst chronic underdevelopment' (Azar and Moon 1986: 394).

PSCs are typified by the production of interlocking national and regional crisis simultaneously (Azar and Moon 1986: 395), and are dependent upon the satisfaction of 'basic needs...such as security, communal recognition and 'distributive justice'.' (McCandless 2007: 96). Therefore a protracted social conflict is a series of related violent conflicts that are located within a country, but may cross territorial boundaries along with racial, ethnic and religious linkages, and which thrive in a climate of poverty and underdevelopment.

The terms of peacebuilding, inter-faith peacebuilding, relief and development NGO's, Faith-Based Development NGOs and protracted social conflict are all relevant in identifying variables within the research framework, and for the location of the case studies.

## **4.0 Research Cases**

In seeking appropriate case-studies to research, it is important to consider all the concepts and variables, and to be certain as to the method of case-study comparison that will be used. It is also important to remember that the choice of research questions will also vary depending upon the cases chosen and the variables being measured (Bechhofer and Patterson 2000: 45). In pursuing a 'Most Different' case study I intend to compare two organisations working in the same post-conflict context. One is an international Christian Faith-Based Organisation and the other a local Multi-Faith-Based Organisation.

Sub-Saharan Africa has both a large number of ongoing intra-state conflicts, many of which can be described as protracted social conflicts, and is also a continent in which religion constitutes an intrinsic part of society and culture (Ter Haar and Ellis 2006). Consequently I have chosen my research context from Sub-Saharan Africa. Africa itself has historically practised 'African Traditional Religion', however colonial initiatives from the Europe and Asia have meant that the majority of its population also practise Christianity and Islam, or combinations of all of these. The population maintain a very high level of religious activity and affiliation. The large number of intrastate conflicts is often attributed to the ethnic and religious diversity that is found there (Haynes 2007: 305), although there has been little formal exploration of the role of religion within the various intra-state conflicts that have and are taking place in sub-Saharan Africa (Basedau and De Juan 2008: 6).

Basedau and De Juan postulate that there may be five different factors that impact upon the role of religion in the promotion of armed violence. These are the number of people associated with different religions in that society and changes in this proportion, how closely religion is linked with other identity markers such as ethnicity, the structures and institutions of the religion practised in that society, the theology of these religions, and the personalities of the leaders of these religions (2008: 7). In their research they identified 10 out of 28 cases where religious leaders had greater links with conflict parties than political leaders, and in two cases the links between the religious leaders and the conflict parties overlapped. These were the Lord's Resistance Army in Uganda and the Islamic courts in Somalia. Further analysis showed that theological concepts were also used to escalate the violent conflict within these two nations (2008: 11). Uganda also has a high level of religious division and ethnic fragmentation. This fragmentation does not necessarily indicate that violent conflict will take place, as indicated by the case of Tanzania, but this religious and ethnic diversity does sometimes contribute to violent conflict. This may indicate that the root causes of the violence are less to do with ethnography and more to do with the socio-economic structure that exists (Haynes 2007: 305-307). Whether the root cause of violence in Uganda is due to the religious and ethnic diversity, or whether it is due to socio-economic factors, the issue remains that Uganda is a fragmented country, where religious discourse has been used to promote violent conflict. In addition, the civil conflict brought about by the Lord's Resistance Army was the continuation of armed conflict between people of Northern Uganda and new Government of Uganda, and it traversed territorial boundaries. More recently the ongoing Uganda conflict has not taken place physically in Uganda, but has been fought in both Southern Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo (Harbom and Wallensteen 2010: 503), suggesting that this constitutes a protracted social conflict.

Consequently I have chosen Northern Uganda as the research context for the following reasons:

- a) I needed to select a country in which religion has been used to exacerbate violence, even if the violent conflict has not necessarily between people of different faith-background;
- b) Northern Uganda is an area which has both international relief and development NGOs' and local indigenous NGOs operating who engage in development and peacebuilding activities;
- c) Northern Uganda has a mix of religious faith traditions active.

- d) Northern Uganda is subject to a protracted social conflict.

## 4.1 Uganda

Uganda has a history of intrastate struggle as different groups and rulers have endeavoured to wrest control of the country from each other usually by military means. Idi Amin Dada claimed the Presidency for himself in the 1970's. Elections in 1980 brought Milton Obote into power, but he was ousted by Tito Okello. Following this coup Yoweri Museveni swept into power in 1981. His arrival was not greeted with approval by the Acholi of Northern Uganda and a rebel alliance led by Alice Lakwena grew into being. She claimed to be possessed by spirits that gave her the authority and sanction to march against the authorities, and to form a rebel group that became the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) (Finnstrom 2006: 200) discussed in more detail in Chapter four. This was not the only rebel group, and a number of Muslim groups appeared as well during the 1990s, leading to some terror attacks in the earlier part of this millennium (Haynes 2005). However, the LRA became the most cogent and damaging threat to the livelihoods of the people of Uganda. During the last 20 years it is alleged that between 24,000 and 66,000 children have been abducted by the LRA, although it is difficult to be accurate (Jeffrey 2011: 85). In addition a large proportion of the population was moved into Internally Displaced People (IDPs) camps, and the social and economic fabric of Northern and Eastern Uganda was severely damaged (Maina 2009: 3).

Following pressure from peacebuilding groups within Uganda, such as the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) and from political pressure from groups outside Uganda a series of peace talks was entered into with Joseph Kony, the current leader of the LRA. International Alert state that Kony failed to attend the meeting to sign the peace agreement in August 2008 and the LRA moved out of Uganda bringing relative peace and security to the area (International Alert 2008: 7). The LRA is currently operating in the Central African Republic where international forces are searching for the rebel group (BBC News 2012). There has been no LRA activity within Uganda for the past 5 years. In Chapter Four I give a more detailed conflict background and analysis to inform the case study.

## 4.2 Choice of Cases

The choice of cases for the research is a key component to the study. In a 'Most Different' case comparison it is important to have two cases that are dissimilar enough but have one or two variables in common. Having researched the background on conflicts within sub-Saharan Africa that had a religious component it seemed that there were two appropriate choices. This choice consisted of Uganda and Somalia, both of which had intra-state conflicts which were exacerbated by the use of a religious rhetoric and links between religious groups and warring factions (Basedau and De Juan 2008: 16). The choice of location was then guided by the feasibility of gaining access to local organisations and their partner communities, appropriate infrastructure, support services and safety during the field research. Although I have personal experience of working in Afghanistan, where there was little infrastructure and an ongoing intra-state conflict I had the backing and support of an international NGO with good communications, links with the Red Cross and UN for internal flights and a functioning support structure provided by the INGO, none of which would be available in Somalia as a research student. Therefore, although it would not be impossible to conduct field research in Somalia, the logistical issues of trying to work in a non-functioning state that was still actively engaged in intra-state conflict would be difficult to surmount. Consequently I decided to locate the research in Uganda, where there was some support from the Makerere University, a functioning government, adequate land transport and communications infrastructure and a cessation of hostilities. The choice of organisations then was narrowed down to an international Faith-Based NGO and a local NGO that worked in Northern Uganda.

There are many NGOs working in Northern Uganda from a faith background. I was particularly seeking an organisation that was endeavouring to engage in peacebuilding activities, and was accessible to an independent research student. In addition CORDs method of working through partner organisations in the field in Uganda is different from most International NGOs who tend to implement their project activities through their own personnel. I will discuss CORD's approach in greater detail later in this chapter, but this method of working suggested that it may throw up more interesting information than those INGOs who implement their own projects.

Finding a local FBO to research in great detail was more difficult. Local NGOs have far fewer financial and technical resources than most international NGOs, and have much less

communication with the global world. Consequently locating, contacting and researching a local NGO threw up greater challenges as there is much less information generally available about them, and all research would need to take place through email or telephone communication prior to the field trip (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana 2008: 558). Faith-Based NGOs are also less likely to identify themselves as faith-based when operating in a setting where faith is a normative part of culture, and consequently there would be issues with identifying a faith-based NGO. Following discussion with colleagues in Makerere University, and with contacts in Northern Uganda the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) was identified. Apart from being identified as a faith-based organisation they also had the technical expertise to run and maintain their own website allowing access to internal documents before undertaking field research, and they had also been researched previously by DfID, International Alert and other research bodies looking at their role in peacebuilding in Northern Uganda which enabled access to more academic literature on their peacebuilding activities. ARLPI are engaged in development activities, but as an indigenous, multi-faith organisation they presented a dissimilar enough case comparison for research purposes.

In addition I have chosen to undertake a mapping exercise of a number of local and international NGOs engaged in peacebuilding in the Gulu and Kitgum area. These NGOs are all registered on the Uganda NGO Forum as undertaking peace and conflict resolution activities. Some of these NGOs have their own websites and so it was possible to examine documents relating to a number of local and international NGOs and to gain a clearer understanding of the operating context for local and International NGOs from a faith context.

## **5.0 Research Tools**

### **5.1. Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA)**

In undertaking evaluation research on these two cases, it has been necessary to further refine some of the evaluatory tools that exist. One such tool is the Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA) which has been developed by Bush, and has been critiqued and developed through the work of the Berghof Centre for Conflict Resolution. The PCIA is aimed at assisting organisations working in a conflict context to fully analyse the conflict context in which the organisation is sited, and to explore the potential impacts that any project intervention will have upon the factors that promote peace or exacerbate violent conflict. One criticism is that it is



primarily of use for development organisations but as this research focuses on development organisations this criticism is less relevant in these circumstances. However, as stated in the previous analysis of tools available for peacebuilding organisations the PCIA gives reference to community leaders and elders, but does not specifically focus on issues of faith in the conflict context. Further criticisms have been regarding the PCIA's limited gender analysis, and the limited analysis regarding impact of different sectors upon each other (Leonhardt 2006: 62).

For the purposes of this research I have taken the original tool prepared by Bush, and I have incorporated into it some of the issues raised by other commentators. I have also included specific questions relating to faith and religion to inform the research process. The document is retrospective as I am examining projects that have already been completed in 2008. The PCIA questionnaire that I have developed specifically for the research has the following headlines, the full questionnaire can be seen in detail in appendix one:

Table 3.2 PCIA Framework Used for Research

<b>1. Timing</b>	How does the timing of the intervention relate to the conflict cycle, intensity, other projects and the political situation?
<b>2. Political Context</b>	Political support, relations with CSOs, political content of the project
<b>3. Other Salient Factors Affecting the Impact of the Conflict on the Project</b>	Institutions, leadership, cultural, infrastructure etc. This section would include analysis of the spiritual context of the conflict context
<b>4. Theories of Change</b>	Project logic as it relates to the conflict and the local community
<b>5. Infrastructure</b>	Support, constraints and project impact upon infrastructure
<b>6. Peace Ecology</b>	Factors promoting peace and violence with specific reference to faith and its role in promoting either peace or violence
<b>7. Resources</b>	Stakeholder support, physical, financial and moral, with specific reference to support from faith leaders and congregations

<b>8. Organisational Issues</b>	Experience, flexibility, contingency, personnel, sustainability, political support
<b>9. Indicators of Change</b>	Community stated priorities for significant change and how they relate to each other. These indicators cover a range of topics such as security, psychological and spiritual.
<b>10. Evaluation Questions</b>	Changes in cause of conflict and impact and effect on indicators of change.
<b>11. Unexpected Learning</b>	Positive and negative outcomes, what can be learnt from these, and how can positive changes be replicated?
<b>12. Most Significant Change</b>	What changes did staff feel were most significant as a result of the intervention?

The majority of this PCIA was completed using material provided by the organisation ahead of my field trip, or from information gained about the organisation from other research projects undertaken about the organisation, and from the organisation's website. Where there were issues which appeared unclear as a result of this desk-based research these formed the beginnings of the semi-structured interviews which I conducted in the field. More details of these questions will be given later.

## 5.2 Most Significant Change

The difficulty of measuring the impact of projects seeking to bring about socio-economic changes increases with the qualitative nature of the change being sought. Many development organisations and their donors are often bringing about changes in areas such as health and sanitation, education and livelihoods, all of which can be measured through quantitative means. However, if we are seeking to bring about a change to the quality of our partner communities life, then it is necessary to find ways of measuring that change. The Most Significant Change method of monitoring and evaluation has been pioneered by Dart and Davies, who have found a participative manner in which to assess qualitative change within organisations, structures, groups and communities as the result of an intervention. For this evaluation technique to be undertaken effectively then its methodology should be recognised and accepted by the partner

community as a tool by which to measure their experience. In this regard communities work with project designers to decide on what areas they would like to see change, and they would develop their own techniques for measuring that change. As the project is implemented then community members, project workers and other stakeholders would be asked on a regular basis about the 'Most Significant' change that they have seen as a result of the intervention. Over the period of the project these stories are gathered, discussed and eventually shortlisted down so that the organisation can see both the nature and the extent of any changes that are happening, but also what the partner community considers to be significant (Davies and Dart 2005). This methodology was not employed in the monitoring and evaluation of the projects undertaken by my two case study organisations, however, the concept of asking stakeholders about the 'Most Significant Change' that they have experienced as a result of the intervention seems to be relevant in this case. This question provides space for all stakeholders to comment upon qualitative changes that have occurred which may not arise in another form of evaluation.

As a result every interviewee was asked the following three questions:

1. What is the 'Most Significant Change' that you have seen as a result of the project intervention?
2. From your experience can you tell me a story that demonstrates this change?
3. Why is this change significant to you?

The question is threefold and requires an example to demonstrate the change, but also requires the story-teller to comment about the significance of the change, why it is important to them, which may not at first be apparent from the first two questions. A drawback to this method was that because it had not been a part of the original process, and because English language knowledge of some of the recipients was limited, the word 'significant' posed some problems in understanding for them. As a result the word was sometimes substituted with the word 'important'.

### **5.3 Theories of Change**

Understanding the organisations theories of change when designing a project is important as it enables the designer to assess whether the theories underpinning project design are valid. Every project design may have a variety of theories as to why it is successful, and it is important to try to

understand the local perspective upon successful project implementation. This understanding may vary significantly from that of the international organisation, or from a donors understanding of why a project is successful. However, the local perspective is important as it provides us with details as to why the project was successful in this particular circumstance, and the more perspectives the researcher is able to gain the greater the insight which may be gathered with regard to this project in this situation. Consequently all respondents who were responsible for project design and implementation were asked: Why do you think the project was successful? This question was additional to the theories of change section in the PCIA and was aimed at collecting a retrospective understanding of the project and its impact upon the partner community.

## **5.4 Additional Semi-Structured Interviews**

In addition to the questions pertaining to the PCIA, Most Significant Change and theories of change I prepared a number of semi-structured interviews for different stakeholders in the different organisations. These questions were to help me to complete the PCIA where desk-research was not sufficient, and to help me gain a more holistic understanding of the organisation. As a result there were different semi-structured questionnaires for the following: CORD management, FONU management, ARLPI religious leaders, ARLPI staff, CORD Partner organisations staff and management. These can be seen in full in the appendices.

## **5.5 Mapping Exercise**

It was not possible to engage in detailed discussions with all of the local and international NGOs that I examined as part of this research. However, I sought to interrogate the data available to answer the following questions:

1. How would you describe your organisation? What was your organisations initial motivation to become involved in peacebuilding?
2. Do you think of yourself as a faith-based organisation?
3. What motivates your organisations development activities?
4. What do you think is important about the work that you do?
5. What are your main funding streams?
6. Do you consider faith to be pro-peace or pro-violence in this context?
7. Have you considered working with faith congregations, or other faith actors to promote peace? Why?

8. What faith communities or actors do you work with indirectly/directly as part of your work?
9. How do you develop your links with partner communities?
10. What difficulties have you experienced when working with faith congregations in your work?
11. In your preparation to begin a project do you consider how your work might impact faith relations?
12. What difficulties do you experience as a local organisation in your working context?
13. Has your opinion of other faiths changed as a result of your organisations work?
14. Has your organisations attitude to working with faith groups changed as a result of your work?

In addition to CORD and ARLPI I sought to map the activities of the following NGOs through the interrogation of the available data. All of these NGOs were listed under the Uganda NGO Directory as including peace and conflict resolution as part of their project activities:

Table 3.3: List of NGOs Used in Mapping Exercise

	Acronym	Name	Activities
Local	AVYF	Active Vision for Youth Foundation	HiV/AIDs, Land Dispute Resolution, Sustainable Development
	AYENET	Agoro Youth Empowerment Network	Peacebuilding through sports and community dialogue
	CRESO	Community Rural Empowerment and Support Organisation	HiV/AIDS livelihood support, promotion of civic rights, peacebuilding, community health support to victims of SGBV and torture.
	CSG	Comboni Samaritans of Gulu	HiV/AIDS Youth Education, Livelihood support, formation of peace activists
	EPPOVHA	Education for Peace	HiV/AIDS and peacebuilding, conflict

		and Prevention of Violence, HiV and AIDS	resolution
	FAPAD	Facilitation for Peace and Development	Human Rights Abuses, Land Disputes
	GYDA	Gulu Youth Development Association	Vocational skills training, Children and Youth empowerment/development
	HPH	Hope and Peace for Humanity	HiV/AIDS, Health care campaigns, vocational skills training, peacebuilding through community training.
	KIWEPI	Kitgum Women's Peace Initiative	To help female Formerly Abducted Person's. Peacebuilding and conflict transformation, social protection.
	LAPEWA	Laroo Pece Women's Association	Widows due to Hiv/Aids and conflict. Emergency shelter, educational sponsorship, protection
	LAG	Live Again	Support to women following the conflict. Peacebuilding through advocacy for women.
	MPK	Meeting Point Kitgum	HiV/AIDS Home care and health provision, family support, educational support
	TEAMS	The East Africa Missionary Society	Education, health, vocational training, women's empowerment, water and sanitation.
	TGSAM	The Good Samaritan's Action Ministries	Hiv/AIDS, community sensitisation, human rights and good governance, conflict resolution
	YSSG	Youth Strengthening Strategy - Gulu	Advocacy and capacity building for young people and youth

			organisations
International	Caritas	CARITAS	HiV/AIDS, Peacebuilding, WSH, Environmental stewardship, livelihood development
	CRS	Catholic Relief Services	Poverty alleviation, peacebuilding, major funder of local NGOs
	WV	World Vision	Empowerment of communities, Faith-based peacebuilding

I have used a variety of methods for gathering data about the organisations to endeavour to limit bias, and to triangulate results from different methods to ensure validity of data. These included websites, donor reports, organisational reports and Forum registration details. The original field research was undertaken in the field in September and October 2010. The additional mapping exercise and interrogation of the data occurred in September and October 2013.

## 6.0 Field Conditions and Scope of Research

I undertook the field research in Northern Uganda September – October 2010, spending a total of 8 days in Kampala and 16 days in Gulu and Kitgum Northern Uganda. Prior to my departure I had made contact with staff members of ARLPI and had made contact with CORDs partner organisations in Northern Uganda. In total I interviewed 20 people ranging from senior staff members to individuals in partner communities; two of these interviews were conducted in the UK. Having reached the field there were a number of difficulties in the research process. I had arranged with a colleague at Makere University for the provision of a research assistant. However on arrival in Kampala there was no suitable assistant available and my attempts to find an alternative were not successful. In addition, for all of the organisations involved in the research pressures of daily operational requirements did not prioritise the research process, which meant that I was not able to interview as many stakeholders as anticipated. Furthermore with regard to CORD, even though I had stated that my research was independent of CORD, I believe operational partners hoped that if they co-operated with me they would be more likely to secure ongoing funding from CORD to run project activities. Despite these challenges to the research

process I was able to gather sufficient data to enable me to achieve my aims, and to answer the research questions without undue bias.

I undertook the field research during the run-up to the Uganda's general election in 2011. During my field research members of the opposition party were arrested and charged with treason, and there was some expressed dissatisfaction with Museveni as a President. Despite these issues there was no military presence on the streets, and there were no violent incidents. The people that I spoke to were friendly and open in discussion. Having explained the purpose of the research they were willing to be interviewed, and were keen to demonstrate the benefits of project interventions. At this point the majority of citizens had returned to their home villages. These villages were comprised of circular mud huts with thatched roofing and were placed in small groupings. Although much of the building in central Gulu and Kitgum was brick built even within the towns this more traditional style of housing predominated.

Gulu and Kitgum are both towns with a high presence of International and local NGOs working on re-settlement for FAP's, some focused on Justice and Reconciliation activities, and many focussed on working with Gulu and Kitgum's youth. There was a proliferation of expatriate personnel within both towns, and these NGOs provided employment and income for a large number of local personnel.





Photograph 3.1 Crossroads in Gulu showing some of the signposts for the various INGOs and local NGOs

Although a communications infrastructure was present in Northern Uganda, mobile networks and electrical supply were regularly affected making communications with potential interviewees difficult at times. Everyone appeared to possess a mobile phone, and there were many internet cafes available for local people to access email and other information systems although transferring large quantities of data was problematic. My personal transportation was either the express bus service, local motorbike taxis (boda-bodas), or on foot. ARLPI did provide a vehicle for me to undertake a field trip, and I hired a vehicle and driver to visit Kitgum for two days. I had intended to type interviews as they were given, however, having taken the computer in 'hibernate' mode on a boda-boda the computer suffered some significant memory retrieval issues and although I was able to reconfigure my computer I decided to transcribe interviews by hand and then type them up later.

Northern Uganda provided a pleasant research location at this time, with some communication issues, but with limited security concerns. However, despite the fact that LRA inspired violence within Acholiland ended some 4 years previously the people that I spoke to were still afraid of a resumption of violence, and they are still waiting for a full resolution to the conflict either through the arrest of Joseph Kony and his supporters, or by their laying down of arms and the return of all combatants to their communities.

## 7.0 Conclusion

In endeavouring to study the peacebuilding work of an FBDO and to consider the implications of their activity for inter-faith peacebuilding it was important to consider a number of factors. Undertaking a detailed case analysis of one NGO would reveal valuable information to enable lesson learning. However, I believe that greater learning would be achieved through the comparison of two different organisations working in similar settings yet with different ethos and resourcing. To this end I have chosen to work with one 'western' Christian FBDO which has experience of both working in development in this area, but which is also seeking to improve the peacebuilding component of their development work; and also with a local multi-faith NGO, which faces very different issues with regards to legitimacy, resourcing and sustainability (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana 2008). I believe that the detailed comparison of two such organisations raises a number of issues that assist in the formulation of hypothesis for further research, and issues which should be addressed in any theoretical framework for inter-faith peacebuilding, or inter-faith peacebuilding toolkit. To this end I have researched two organisations: Christian Outreach Relief and Development (CORD), an International NGO with its headquarters based in Leamington Spa in the UK which has undertaken development activities in Northern Uganda, and the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) a local Civil Society Organisation based in Gulu and Kitgum in Northern Uganda. The purpose of the comparison is to highlight differences in approach, in methodologies, and in theories of change, which may demonstrate principles that are transferable between faith and conflict contexts. The purpose of the research is not to examine the 'what works' so much as to examine 'why it works', and to explore whether these principles can be used by other FBDO's working in a post-conflict context, where faith is a normative part of cultural traditions and values. I shall examine the outcome of different projects that these two organisations have undertaken in 2008, which will also enable some measurement of longevity and sustainability of project work to be undertaken. In addition I have undertaken a

mapping exercise of 16 local NGOs and a further 3 INGOs to seek to determine the extent of FBDO activity involved in peacebuilding in the Gulu and Kitgum areas. In Chapter Four and Chapter Five I present my initial findings and subsequent analysis of these two organisations and of the general mapping exercise.

## **Chapter Four: Mapping of Peacebuilding Organisations and Case Studies of Inter-Faith Peacebuilding in Northern Uganda**

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### **1.0 Introduction**

In seeking to develop a theoretical framework of reference for FBDOs undertaking inter-faith peacebuilding, the choice of case studies and the methods used to examine these case studies are critical to achieving the research objectives. These objectives are: To increase understanding of transferable principles of faith-based peacebuilding from specific case studies; and to increase understanding of local perspectives on change and peacebuilding in a faith context. In order to assist in understanding the context of the two different organisations I have also undertaken a mapping exercise of local and international organisations working in the field of peace. It has been possible to identify some of these organisations from the outset as FBDOs, others have been more difficult to define as evidenced by Bouta et al in their mapping activities of Christian and Muslim peace actors (Bouta, Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana 2005: 7).

I have divided the research material into two sections and in this Chapter I undertake the mapping exercise of local and international FBDOs undertaking peace and conflict resolution activities as part of their development programming in Gulu and Kitgum. These local organisations have been identified from the Uganda NGO Directory<sup>15</sup> and have stated aims of peace and conflict resolution. I use the research questions to examine the data available on the organisations to examine their activities, links with faith, and their work with different faith constituencies. I then examine their role as peacebuilding actors within the Gulu and Kitgum context.

Furthermore, In this Chapter I outline a potential theoretical framework for faith-based engagement in inter-faith peacebuilding based upon Anderson's model of 'Do No Harm' but

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<sup>15</sup> <http://www.ugandangodirectory.org/>

amended to include the faith context in greater detail. In this framework I outline three different levels of faith engagement:

1. Do No Harm in a faith context
2. Working in a faith context
3. Working on a faith context

I use this theoretical framework in this Chapter to assess the level of faith-based peacebuilding in Gulu and Kitgum areas by FBDOs. In Chapter Five I explore the 'most-different' case studies in greater detail.

## **2.0 Background and Conflict Context of Project Activities**

The background to the conflict context in which these organisations are working is quite complex. It is important to understand this background when undertaking research in Northern Uganda, and this background informs the conflict context, a full understanding of which is necessary to properly undertake the Peace and Conflict Impact Assessments, and in addition to fully understand the role of faith both in the violent conflict and in the resultant peacebuilding efforts. In the next few sections I have outlined the relevant history and context which informs both the research, analysis and subsequent conclusions.

### **2.1 Relevant History**

Uganda is a country that scores high on the ethnic and religious fragmentation index implying that there are many potential fault lines along which conflict parties can be divided (Haynes 2007: 307). In determining the beginning of the conflict timeline one of the respondents that I spoke to in Northern Uganda placed the root cause of the most recent civil war, between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Government of Uganda, in the 'divide and rule' policy of the British administration whilst Uganda was a British protectorate<sup>16</sup>. His comments are clearly evidenced by the fact that the British administration gave administrative duties to those groups living in the South of Uganda, and drew upon the occupants of the North for military and security personnel (Okumu-Alya undated: 3). Equally, agricultural productivity was located in the North,

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<sup>16</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 11

yet little processing or industrial activity was to be utilised there, all of the country's main industry being located south of the Karuma Falls about 3 hours north of Kampala.

This item has been removed due to 3rd party copyright. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Map 1: Uganda showing Kampala (capital) and Gulu and Kitgum in the North<sup>17</sup>

Alongside this split of roles between different areas and groups living in Uganda, was a political partisanship shown by the three major faith denominations present in the country alongside African Traditional Religion. Catholicism, Protestantism and Islam were all clearly identified with particular political parties or leaders, and this had led on occasion to religiously-based violence within Uganda. The Islamisation of Uganda under the rule of Idi Amin is one example, yet there has also historically been violence between Catholics and Protestants associated with transitions in power in the post-colonial era. The Catholics have more clearly been identified with the Democratic Party (DP) and the Protestants with the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) (Lukwiya Ochola 2006: 135). There have been sectarian issues between Catholics and Protestants; especially in Acholiland where Catholics are the majority faith group (Beyna et al. 2001: 56), and where 90% of the population are Catholic, Protestant or Muslim. This sectarianism was further exacerbated by Idi Amin's attempts to enforce Islam as the dominant religion in the country in the

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[http://www.google.co.uk/imgres?imgurl=http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/uganda601/images/uganda\\_map\\_detail.gif&imgrefurl](http://www.google.co.uk/imgres?imgurl=http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/uganda601/images/uganda_map_detail.gif&imgrefurl)

1970's. Despite Museveni's campaign to reduce sectarianism the differences between the different faith groups are still salient (Beyna et al. 2001: 182).

## **2.2 Conflict between the Government of Uganda and the LRA**

The post-conflict context for my research followed an armed insurgency that lasted from 1986 to 2006. This conflict began after the move into power of the current President Yoweri Museveni. Museveni had led a rebel movement, the National Resistance Army, against the President of that time Tito Okello, a northerner from Acholiland. Okello had held power for a short time after ousting Milton Obote (Finnstrom 2006: 200). Okello's troops retreated to the North fearing a re-occurrence of the massacre of troops that took place when Idi Amin came into power. They located in Sudan and from there began a resistance movement known as the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF). As this rebel force began operations a second movement started. This was the Holy Spirit Movement Force (HSMF) led by Alice Lakwena, who claimed to be led by a benign spirit. Lakwena called for repentance and sought redemption for the Acholi people. She led a military force against Museveni claiming that her troops would be protected by the Holy Spirit, and advanced close to Kampala in the South. Lakwena and the HSMF were defeated by Museveni in 1988 (Okumu-Alya undated: 3).

The HSMF was led by a number of others, but in 1990 Joseph Kony began another 'cult' movement, the Holy Salvation Army. Kony stated that he was directed by spirits, who were guiding him to oust the new Government and to fight for the people of Acholiland. One of Kony's demands was that Uganda should be ruled by 'the Ten Commandments', and partly for this reason he was portrayed as someone who had no serious political agenda for the rebel group that he was leading, although the LRA have clearly stated a number of political aims and objectives, of which the imposition of the 'Ten Commandments' was just one (Allen 2005: 19). Branch comments that one of Kony's political aims was the inclusion of the Acholi people as equals in Uganda, but that the political aims of his group were dismissed because of the 'cultic' nature of his organisation (Branch 2005: 6). The Holy Salvation Army continued and eventually changed its name to become the Lord's Resistance Army in 1993 (Ginifer 2006: 6).

## 2.3 Impact upon Acholiland

In order to augment his troops Kony began a campaign of abduction, and forced recruitment into the army. Many children were amongst those abducted and forced to become child soldiers. Young girls were forced to become 'wives' to the commanders in the army and served as sexual slaves (Maina 2009: 3). New initiates underwent a 'cleansing' ceremony to separate them from their families and communities, and they were forced to take part in various acts to draw them into the rebel force. One of the features of their initiation was regular bible studies in which Kony used Biblical and Quranic verses to demonstrate the warrior nature of God, and to use this to demonstrate that they were 'holy soldiers'. He also used a mixture of folk religion and local traditional beliefs to persuade his troops that they would be immune from harm whilst fighting, as they would be protected.<sup>18</sup> Although the fighting was not ostensibly between two different faith groups, religion and religious rhetoric was used to legitimise rebel activity, and consequently the civil war could be construed as having a religious motivation. In addition Kony saw priests and pastors as 'tools' of the 'southern' government and expressed hatred towards them (Ward 2001: 188).

As the conflict between Museveni and the rebels escalated, the rebels' concentrated their activities amongst the people of Northern Uganda, including the Acholi, but also other people groups across the north and east of the Country. Forced abductions continued, but also mutilations, amputations, killings, and even on occasion the cooking of murdered villagers<sup>19</sup> became a frequent and common occurrence, leaving northerners in considerable fear of repercussions should they cooperate with government forces. In 1996 the Government built camps to site these people, and forced the migration of the population into various IDP camps around the North. Villagers who remained at home were at risk of being kidnapped, tortured or murdered by Kony and his troops, but also at risk of being killed by government troops who claimed that the local population were rebels. 90% of the population moved to live in these camps, and in so doing Acholi family life, traditions and cultural practices were undermined. There was no opportunity to grow food, and so camp dwellers were dependent upon WFP food handouts. Livelihoods, education, and traditional practices were stopped (Okumu-Alya 2010: 101).

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<sup>18</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 11

<sup>19</sup> Justice and Reconciliation Project, Gulu reported these incidents in their recording of massacres during the conflict.



## **2.4 Peace Process**

There were various attempts at developing a peace process. These were initiated by Betty Bigombe, a Government minister, and also through the work of local CSOs. As a result of these different attempts, a general amnesty to commanders of the LRA was granted in 1999, which heralded a return of some of the abducted persons from the bush. Operation Iron Fist in 2002 resulted in an increase of violence committed against the people of Northern Uganda by the LRA. Peace talks were again initiated in 2005 when Museveni confirmed that Joseph Kony could receive amnesty for his action, but the process again stumbled to a halt when the International Criminal Court issued warrants for the arrest of Joseph Kony and his top four commanders. The Juba peace process was not completed as Kony failed to turn up to the talks, and the peace deal remains unsigned. However, a Cessation of Hostilities agreement was signed in 2006, and the beginnings of stability were initiated in the area (International Alert 2008: 8).

At the beginning of 2008, the period in which I will be examining the work of ARLPI and CORD, Kony and the forces of the LRA had moved to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and were based in the bush there. The Peace agreement put together through the Juba Peace Process remained unsigned, and 90% of the population remained in the 62 IDP camps<sup>20</sup>. As the year progressed, with no further re-occurrence of violence from the LRA people began leaving the camps and returning to their homes.

## **2.5 Conflict Context**

### **2.5.1 Security and Poverty**

To examine the work of the two NGOs in my case studies and to be able to undertake a full assessment of their project interventions further analysis of the conflict context in which they found themselves working is necessary. At the point of project delivery the country has no signed peace agreement between the two parties to the conflict, although the LRA have moved into DRC and are no longer operating within Acholiland, and the intensity of violence has reduced. However, there remains a risk that the violence could re-escalate. Ugandan Government troops remain in the area to protect the IDP camps, but other infrastructure is weak. Roads and transport links are poor. There is no basic industry.

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<sup>20</sup> First Assessment Report: Uganda 2006 CORD internal document

Most families have been displaced and have lost family members, either through abduction, or murder (International Alert 2008:12). Most NGO activity taking place within the camps exists in the few camps along the main arterial roads and much work is replicated within each camp (Hansen 2007: 16). The most common forms of relief aid given at this point have been through the provision of food aid. This has been distributed in a way which has undermined the traditional structures of authority within the community, and has contributed to a breakdown in family and community structures (Okumu-Alya undated: 3). Related to the breakdown in community and family structures and limited livelihood opportunities available within the IDP camps is an increase in prostitution and sexual gender based violence (SGBV).<sup>21</sup> It is estimated that 60-70,000 people have been killed and up to 1.5 million people displaced (Ginifer 2006: 10). It is not known how many people were abducted, but when records stopped in 2001 it was known that 29,000 children had been kidnapped and 5,500 unaccounted for (Allen 2005: iii). By mid-2008 97% of people from the Lango sub-region had returned to their home locations, but in contrast approximately 70% of people from the Acholi and Teso regions remained in IDP camps (International Alert 2008: 8).

Economically, the disparities between the north and the south have been exacerbated as the main source of income through subsistence farming has been removed by the locating of the civilian population in Northern Uganda in IDP camps (Ginifer 2006: 13). The workforce is comprised mainly of unskilled labour which is mostly unemployed. This unskilled workforce is vulnerable to exploitation and motivates them to take whatever work is available (Okumu-Alya 2010: 110). This lack of livelihood opportunities makes those young people who have returned from fighting with the LRA particularly vulnerable to returning to the bush to rejoin the LRA.<sup>22</sup>

There has been degradation of the forest for firewood as a result of camp living, and for building materials. Despite a drought the soil remains fertile and the local community are reliant on traditional farming methods once they have returned to their home communities.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 8

<sup>22</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 11

<sup>23</sup> EPISTLES, 2008, CORD Internal Document

### **2.5.2 Political Context**

Yoweri Museveni and the National Resistance Movement (NRM) have been in power for 20 years and are not due for re-election until February 2011.<sup>24</sup> There are regular presidential elections but Museveni is the only candidate for the presidency as he runs a 'no-party' system of governance. Despite the Ugandan Government's commitment to ensuring peace in Northern Uganda there is concern about the role of the Khartoum Government in Sudan which has the potential to return to supporting the LRA in order to spoil the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) in Sudan (International Alert 2008: 9). The Government of Uganda remains in a strong position to resist the efforts of the international community to persuade it to engage in conflict-reduction and peacebuilding (Ginifer 2006: 13) and there is poor governance at national and regional level (Ginifer 2006: 14).

Sectarian rivalries have existed between Catholics, Protestants and Muslims since colonial times ARLPI have already been significant in reducing these rivalries between groups in Acholiland. This reduction in sectarianism in the North has had an impact upon North-South animosity and the political sectarianism perpetuated by Milton Obote (Beyna et al. 2001: 56).

The peace process appears to have hit an impasse. Kony has refused to sign the Juba Peace Agreement and the issue of arrest warrants by the International Criminal Court for Kony and four of his fellow commanders reduces the likelihood of a negotiated peace settlement (Ginifer 2006: 7).

### **2.5.3 Formerly Abducted Persons Reintegration and Returnees**

Formerly Abducted Persons (FAP's) have returned from the bush under the amnesty law. Young men are struggling to find their home communities, and to be re-accepted into these communities. Alongside former combatants the young women who have returned bearing the children of LRA rebels are stigmatised and face limited livelihood options. Women resort to prostitution and the levels of sexual gender-based violence, and domestic violence increase. Within this milieu international Humanitarian Agencies are at work engaged in food programmes. Ex-combatants believe that aid has been targeted unfairly toward young women returnees, and that male returnees have not received the support and assistance promised under the Amnesty

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<sup>24</sup> EPISTLES, 2008, CORD Internal Document

Act. (Conciliation Resources 2006: 17). Although FAPs have been 'reinserted' in to their families, they still do not experience freedom from 'fear or want', and consequently the security of the post-conflict situation has not been secured (Maina 2009: 3).

As people begin to return to their home communities, and as the camps begin to be disbanded, there are a growing number of violent disputes related to land ownership as boundaries have been disturbed, between families, groups and communities, extending to districts and sub-counties. DfID describe the main sources of conflict at this point as: poverty; internal tensions between the South and the North; displacement; lack of livelihoods; poor governance and a lack of human rights (Ginifer 2006: 14). Certainly this is reflected in CORD and ARLPI's conflict assessments in this region, and project interventions reflected these concerns.

#### **2.5.4 Faith Context**

Within the faith context of the situation 90% of the Acholi population are from a Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, or Muslim faith community, with the remainder adhering to African Traditional Religion. The conflict itself is not split along religious lines, but religious rhetoric has been used to promote violent conflict involving the invocation of both Biblical and Quranic texts. Churches exist within IDP camps and within trading places which is not matched by other faith groups (Ward 2001: 202). The leaders of the Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and Muslim communities have formed the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) and are active in advocating for an end to the conflict, for traditional dispute resolution mechanisms to be introduced to enable re-integration of FAP's, and for an improvement in socio-economic development for Northern Uganda (Beyna et al. 2001: 18). ARLPI have focussed on the common humanity of all and the scale of suffering experienced by the displaced in Northern Uganda. ARLPI have developed their role to include addressing issues of social justice and transformation amongst other development issues (Ginifer 2006: 10). Other CSO's are seeking to address the limited livelihood options, and lack of educational opportunities. In addition cultural leaders are seeking to use traditional justice methods to enable the re-integration of returnees into communities. ARLPI in particular have referred to Kony and the rebels as 'prodigal sons' who need to be brought back into the community (Ward 2001: 206). However, as a result of the conflict and the move of communities into IDP camps, the authority of cultural leaders has been

fragmented by NGO and UN practice and so the role of cultural leaders in a return to life outside of the camps has been compromised (Okumu-Alya undated: 3).

### 2.5.5 NGO Context

There are an increasing number of international and national NGOs working in Gulu and Kitgum areas. Although UNOCHA is coordinating the INGO response there is little networking between all the organisations, and there is some duplication of activities within the IDP camps. There is a perception amongst communities that NGOs are merely trying to make money for themselves. The presence of so many NGOs inevitably increases the cost of food, accommodation and other essentials for the entire community (Okumu-Alya 2010: 103). There is little infrastructure, Gulu has access to the internet which is intermittent. Kitgum and other areas in the north have no internet access and the roads are in poor condition.<sup>25</sup>

## 3.0 Mapping of Local and International NGOs Engaged In Peacebuilding Activities In Gulu And Kitgum Area.

In order to under understand the NGO context in greater detail I have undertaken a mapping exercise of 18 local and international NGOs who state in their NGO registration that they are involved in peacebuilding activities. I sought to interrogate the available data to examine their faith identity where this was possible. If they actively chose to engage with faith as a peacebuilding concept, whether they worked with faith leaders or congregations, whether they were supported financially by faith-based organisations, and what difficulties they encountered. The details of these findings are summarised below and include the two main case study organisations:

Table 4.1 Faith-Based Activity in Peacebuilding Activities of NGOs in Gulu and Kitgum

Location	Acronym	Faith-Based	Working with Faith/partners	Funders	Difficulties
Local	ARLPI	Yes	Works with an inter-faith network, works with leaders from all faith backgrounds and their congregations	CRS, DFID, International Religious Council of	Organisational capacity to undertake activities

<sup>25</sup> EPISTELS, unpublished CORD document, 2007

				Uganda, ICCO	
	AVYF	Yes	Have a Christian School for training and professional development. Work with church leaders in leadership skills, and churches on governance.	International donors and private Ugandan	Inadequate resources for teaching, time constraints and donor funding.
	AYENET	Yes	Work with parishes enabling community development through participation	Ugandan private sources	Limited fundraising expertise, no paid staff, limited capacity
	CRESO	Unclear	Not specifically	Ugandan private	
	CSG	Yes	Work with volunteers from the cathedral, but do not specifically target people of faith	SCIAF, Inter-Religious Council of Uganda, CRS	Increasing strain on resources due to increase in HIV/AIDS. Strained human resources.
	EPPOVHA	Unclear	Provided training materials for church leaders to speak in churches and bible studies to reduce stigmatisation.	Swiss Open Hand Foundation, ACCODE, UNESCO	
	FAPAD	Unclear	Work with religious leaders as part of community structures, but not specifically targeted.	NED, ICCO, World Vision, UNICEF	Late receipt of donor funds, big funding gap. Political interference.
	GYDA	Unclear	Not specifically	International Orgs	Limited funding

	HPH	Unclear	Not specifically	International orgs	Limited resources, transport, and funding
	KIWEPI	Unclear	Not specifically	Care International ICCO	
	LAPEWA	Unclear	Not specifically	International Orgs	Limited resources, office equipment, transport
	LAG	Unclear	Not specifically	International organisations Traumaid	
	MPK	Yes	Offer spiritual support but do not engage with leaders or congregations specifically	International organisations IRCU	Funding
	TEAMS	Yes	Works specifically with churches, leaders and congregations.	International orgs	
	TGSAM	Unclear	Not specifically	Care International	Limited capacity to meet service needs.
	YSSG	Unclear	Not specifically	International organisations	
Internati onal	Caritas	Yes	Partner with Catholic churches and Catholic church communities and train peace activists. Also fund local organisations	US\$3.69 million, external funding	
	CORD	Yes	Does not specifically work with faith congregations, but works through local partners who work indirectly with faith communities	Jersey Overseas Aid Committee	Funding

	CRS	Yes	Works with faith leaders, involved in inter-faith activities, supports inter-faith networks in Uganda and acts as a donor agency	US\$732 million from catholic diocesan sources	
	WV	Yes	Directly funds faith-based organisations. Engages with faith-based peacebuilding. Engages with faith leaders at a local level in Uganda for Human Rights and Child protection.	US\$2.67 Billion (2012)	

### 3.1 Organisation Description

The only local organisation listed to specifically describe itself as a faith-based organisation is the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI), otherwise none of the local organisations listed specifically described themselves as faith-based organisations. In fact TGSAM's did not describe itself as a faith-based organisation even though its name (The Good Samaritans Actions Ministries) would suggest that the founders had a faith motivation. Other organisations had names that might suggest a faith link, such as TEAMS (The East Africa Missionary Society) and it was apparent from their documentation that faith was a motivating factor in their activities. Conversely, the international NGOs were very clear on their faith basis and activities. This corroborates Bouta et al.'s assertion that in countries where faith is normative it is difficult to identify organisations that have been founded from a motivation of faith, as compared to international organisations from a secular background. Bouta et al suggest that organisations coming from such a background are likely to have a faith motivation even if this is not specifically stated (2005:x). EPPOVHA for example was not easily identifiable as coming from a faith background, however, EPPOVHA specifically worked with faith leaders and faith communities to tackle the issues of HIV/AIDS awareness and reduction in stigmatisation. FAPAD did actively work with religious leaders as part of the community structures, although they did not specifically focus on work with religious leaders only. The remaining organisations for which it is unclear of their faith motivation, and which did not specifically work with faith leaders or congregations, may



have a faith background, and may work with faith communities. However, with reference to the definitions of FBDOs as set out in Chapter One, all of these organisations can be considered to be FBDOs as they fit at least one of the following criteria:

- Identifies itself as a faith-based development organisation and/or
- Operates in a majority religion area by members of that faith and/or
- Is run by a faith actor and/or
- Includes faith leaders as equal partners and/or
- Uses faith values, teaching and practices in conflict resolution and/or
- Led by, or established by faith leaders inspired by faith values

Equally, due to the normative nature of faith in this context it is not possible to compartmentalise 'faith' from 'secular' (Rakodi: 2012b: 624).

## **3.2 Motivation**

Each organisation had a different motivation for becoming engaged in development activities. They were all based upon responding to a particular socio-economic development need which they felt motivated to address. No organisation stated a faith motivation to engage in peacebuilding work. AVYF stated that they wanted youth to be 'God-fearing' and free from HIV/AIDS. This was the only faith motivation highlighted for their activities. The motivations for CORD and ARLPI are explored in greater detail in the next chapter.

## **3.3 Funding**

Many of the local NGOs listed struggle for funding, and many gave it as the major challenge that they face along with other resource difficulties. The majority list private Ugandan sources amongst their donor funding as well as International organisations. Some of the local NGOs are funded by the faith-based international NGOs listed, all of which have a large supporter funding base. The Inter-Religious Council of Uganda supports two local NGOs, Meeting Point – Kitgum (MPK) and the Comboni Samaritans of Gulu (CSG) although neither organisation appears to specifically work with those of a particular faith background. ICCO a Dutch international faith-based funder supported FAPAD and KIWEPI, although neither organisation works specifically

with faith congregations and their leaders. Even those local organisations which are in receipt of international funding cite suitable and timely funding as a challenge for their programme activities.

### **3.4 Working with Faith**

It is clear that there is a spectrum of faith-based activity across the range of organisations. Organisations such as CRESO, GYDA and HPH appear to have little or no faith-based activity as part of their development activities. FAPAD work with church leaders as part of the community structures in which they operate. Caritas and TEAMS work specifically with Christian congregations, whereas CRS, World Vision work across faith groups. EPPHOVA, AYENET and AVYF try to resource church communities and congregations to enable community participation and peacebuilding activities. None of the organisations listed raised challenges around working with faith leaders or faith congregations. It is clear that some focus on working with their own church denomination, whereas others work across denominations and faiths.

Bradley in her work on faith and development comments that the role of faith in development is important, but the larger the organisation becomes, and the closer it becomes to the top of the aid chain, then the role of faith is compromised. She states that local NGOs, with their closer grassroots connections to faith communities have the potential for greater impact but are hampered by their ability to gain donor funding (Bradley 2009:113). This mapping exercise suggests that where faith is normative and local organisations do have good grassroots connections, their ability to engage with communities is diminished by the challenges they have accessing appropriate resources. CRS, Caritas and World Vision, who are all well supported by donor contributions from their faith congregations, can impact this by acting as a donor organisation. The drawback of acting as a donor is that it impacts how an organisation is viewed by other partner organisations, and the power balance between international and local organisation is skewed.

In this next section I will explore the role of all the organisations as peacebuilding actors within the Gulu and Kitgum context.

## **4.0 Roles of Organisations As Peace Actors**

In Chapter One I stated that according to Paffenholz (2004) for an FBDO to be engaged in peacebuilding they must undertake a peacebuilding role. In this section I examine in closer detail the peacebuilding role, if any, of the local and international NGOs included in the mapping exercise. I also include the roles of the two main cases, although I analyse their work in much greater detail in Chapter Five.

### **4.1 Advocacy**

FBDOs can act as advocates for those experiencing violence, structural, cultural or direct, and can represent their concerns to the appropriate sources in an attempt to bring about and end to the violence. ARLPI acted as an advocate for both the people of Acholiland who were suffering under the abuses of the LRA and Government troops, and they also advocated for the 'rebels'. ARLPI used the information they had gathered on abductions to advocate for the combatants and sought to remind the government that a large proportion of the 'rebels' were abducted children. ARLPI pushed for an end to the military campaign on a two-fold footing; the first was that civilians would suffer disproportionately as a result of continuing military intervention; and the second was that those rebels who would be killed by military intervention were likely to be children. This advocacy helped move the Government toward developing a non-military response to the LRA and the granting of the Amnesty Act in 2000.

CRESO advocates for young people with regard to poverty, social justice issues and access to livelihoods. They seek to empower young people to be able to access these and other services through the provision of youth referral centres and to create an appropriate community response to these and issues of HIV/AIDS and SGBV. EPPOVHA seeks to advocate for citizens seeking transparency in policy, particularly with regard to HIV/AIDS, although it is unclear from their material as to the nature of the policy. LAG seeks to undertake peacebuilding through advocating for women's rights, especially with regard to livelihood and educational support for women returning from the bush.

Of the international NGOs World Vision appears to advocate for child protection and human rights issues at a local level with faith leaders.

## **4.2 Mediators**

The role of mediator is a common one for faith-based actors. ARLPI have acted as mediators with regard to their land dispute resolution activities, and working with community, political and legislative leaders have mediated successfully in disputes, enabling a non-violent resolution of Land disputes at a community level. AVYF are involved in land dispute resolution as part of their conflict resolution activities, and for the sustainable use of land. Although it is unclear what role they take in this, their documentation states that they 'hold meetings with the land committee, it is likely to be one of mediator.

## **4.3 Facilitators**

Using the resources and community links that they have FBDOs are often able to act as facilitators in peacebuilding activities. AYENET's material suggests that they facilitate conflict resolution through community dialogue, particularly working with church leaders and local parishes. They also appeared to seek to facilitate the capacity building of the local parishes and their church leaders to enable community development through youth participation.

## **4.4 Monitors/Observers**

Faith-Based actors can monitor and/or observe human rights abuses, or social justice issues. The information may be passed onto another organisation: such as Amnesty International, so that it can act as an advocate, or in the case of ARLPI, who acted as monitors in Northern Uganda, the information can then be used by the FBDO itself, to enable it to act as an advocate for the people in Acholiland. Other than ARLPI there appears to be no other peacebuilding activity where monitoring/observing is the role of the faith actor.

## **4.5 Protectors**

Faith-Based Organisations and actors can serve to protect others when the state is unable or unwilling to do so. The children of Gulu were protected in night shelters through the work of ARLPI when they were at risk of being abducted by the LRA, or being accused of being rebel forces by the Government of Uganda. LAPEWA also seek to act as protectors for women who have lost their spouses due to the conflict or HIV/AIDS. In addition FAPAD have sought to undertake child protection training for teachers, and have developed clubs for children to learn

about and understand their rights for protection. KIWEPI also undertook social protection, specifically working with FAPs and endeavouring to help with education and livelihood development. Young women who are FAPs are particularly at risk of SGBV on their return to their host communities.

## **4.6 Socialisation**

Through its local partners, IYEP and KITWOBE, CORD formed natural groups of people from different faith-backgrounds which met these pre-requisites. They cooperated together on various livelihood activities, and in this way increased inter-faith understanding, and encouraged people from different backgrounds to resolve their problems together. Although neither IYEP nor KITWOBE had planned these interventions with regard to social contact theory, the overall impact enabled socialisation of different groups of people including people of different faith backgrounds. AYENET through their activities of community dialogue, sport and human rights awareness training appear to have been working to bring disparate groups together in communities. It is unclear whether these groups are from different faith backgrounds, or whether they are the original community struggling with land disputes and access to livelihoods in the post-conflict aftermath.

## **4.7 Inter-Faith Cohesion**

ARLPI increased inter-faith cohesion through its deliberate policy of working with all faith leaders and all faith congregations. Through role-modelling of cooperation congregations recognised the humanity of the other and recognised the shared experiences that bound them together. ARLPI also worked with traditional justice across the community, and consequently the re-integration of FAPs. FBDOs can establish networks of communication not only with 'like-minded' FBDOs but with FBDOs from other faith backgrounds and in this way model inter-faith cohesion on issues that impact all partner communities. During interview, members of partner communities commented that due to ARLPI's intervention all the faith groups worked together within the community where previously they had not. One interviewee commented:

As a community leader I have seen a very big change in community about religious differences. Muslim's not able to work with Christian's in the past, can now work together and decide for something together.<sup>26</sup>

Although CORD at this time was not specifically considering inter-faith activities, since the beginning of this research in 2010 CORD has begun to consider inter-faith peacebuilding and inter-faith cohesion as part of their conflict analysis and development activities.

The majority (of the organisation) are really appreciative.....of a more diverse understanding of faith... There's quite a strong appreciation of this is where we're at.<sup>27</sup>

CRS have worked with a variety of initiatives which have included inter-faith where Catholic leaders have been present. This has included supporting the work of ARLPI through funding, if not directly contributing to Inter-Faith cohesion. However, their willingness to work with groups of all faiths could act as a role-model of inter-faith cooperation to other faith-based, and specifically Catholic, organisations.

Of the other organisations listed it is difficult to determine what peacebuilding role they adopted as part of their peacebuilding activities, or whether they focussed on service delivery. Paffenholz states that unless the organisation is undertaking a peacebuilding role then the impact upon peacebuilding is likely to be limited. The data suggests that although these organisations state that they are undertaking peace and conflict resolution as part of their activities, the peacebuilding impact of these activities on 'pwl' will be small.

## **5.0 Impact of Faith On Peacebuilding Initiatives – Levels of Faith Engagement**

'Engagement with faith' as a concept needs further clarity, and Andersons model of 'Do No Harm' gives further direction to this concept. In 'Do No Harm' Anderson describes factors within a conflict context which cause tensions and act as dividers across conflict lines. These dividers are categorized under five different headings:

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<sup>26</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 4

<sup>27</sup> Interview, 2013, Respondent 9

- a) Systems and Institutions: This includes areas such as trade and infrastructure, media, employment and education.
- b) Attitudes and actions: the concepts about the other held by different groups and the behaviours that result from these concepts which are divisive.
- c) Different experiences: the life events that have happened to different groups which are not shared and which impact the attitudes and actions of each group.
- d) Different values and interests: the principles that each group holds dear which are different from the 'other' and cause tensions between each group
- e) And symbols and occasions: which may include marches, festivals, parades or use of 'sacred ground' that feed into the tensions (Anderson 1999).

In addition Anderson talks about those things that connect across these conflict lines, and refers to them as local capacities for peace. They are similar but not identical to the areas of analysis for dividers and tensions:

- a) Systems and Institutions: Where are there links between groups in these areas?
- b) Attitudes and actions; what are the concepts toward the other that connect different groups. What are the behaviours that arise from these concepts that encourage contact?
- c) Shared values and interests, what are the values that different groups have in common and which connect groups?
- d) Shared experiences; what are the experiences which both groups have in common which can act as a basis for connection?
- e) And symbols and occasions; what are the different symbols and occasions that unite and connect members of the different groups?

In Anderson's definition to 'Do No Harm' means that an organisation would refrain from any activity which would increase the levels of division or tension identified, or refrain from anything

that would harm the connectors that exist between groups and thus harming the local capacities for peace.

In developing this concept of 'Do No Harm', but with a specific analysis with regard to faith, religion and engaging religious congregations I plan to amend the scope of Anderson's definition to include a faith analysis. Thus, the initial conflict analysis would consider all the dividers and tensions that exist, but would further analyse those dividers and tensions that exist between faith groups and contribute to the conflict. In the example of Northern Uganda historically the British had given particular jobs to particular ethnic groups, some of which would be linked to faith. This tradition was continued by subsequent administrations. For example Idi Amin populated his army with Nubian Muslims. This enabled this group to have access to resources and power that were denied other faith groups. Equally, as both Protestants and Catholics were linked with particular political parties in post-colonial Uganda, this enabled access to resources depending upon who was in power.

In addition to recognising these dividers, it is essential to analyse the connectors and local capacities for peace. As part of that analysis the organisation would need to assess further those connectors which link people of different faiths, and consequently local 'faith' capacities for peace. In many circumstances these would be factors such as markets and trade, but could also include national days of memorialisation, or shared experience of violence. In Northern Uganda the different faith groups had the shared experience of atrocities committed upon them by both the LRA and soldiers of the Government of Uganda. This shared experience enabled ARLPI to unite different communities to advocate for peace in Northern Uganda with the Government.

So, including the factors that need to be analysed in any conflict-sensitive programming I propose these detailed definitions for the three levels of faith engagement

A ) Do No Harm:

- Ensuring activities do not exacerbate tensions and dividers between faith groups and faith groups and traditional cultural practice, or damage local faith capacities for peace.

B) Working 'in' a faith context in a conflict setting:



- Ensuring activities do not exacerbate tensions and dividers between faith groups and faith groups and traditional cultural practice, or damage local faith capacities for peace.
- Engaging with connectors and links between faith groups

C) Working 'on' a faith context in a conflict setting:

- Ensuring activities do not exacerbate tensions and dividers between faith groups and faith groups and traditional cultural practice, or damage local faith capacities for peace.
- Engaging with connectors and links between faith groups,
- Developing new connectors and enhancing local faith capacities for peace.

Faith engagement is more than just using religious texts to promote a peace ethic, although study of texts could be a component of the activity. It is about actively working with people of faith; congregations, leaders, and organisations, and protecting connectors across these groups, or establishing such connectors. The level of faith engagement depends upon the organisations activity with relationship to the dividers and connectors that exist. The protection of these connectors and the formation of new connectors could also be described as developing 'bridging social capital' between different social groups, which acts to reduce the likelihood of violent conflict between linked groups (Goodhand 2006: 40) as discussed in Chapter Two.

AVYF specifically worked with faith in that they developed a Christian school for education and training, and they also worked with church leaders with regard to developing leadership skills and with their churches on good governance. Without looking at the materials it is not possible to determine whether this training had a particularly spiritual ethos, but the organisation actively sought to work with faith communities, with an end view of developing capacity to work with land dispute resolution and sustainable land use. In this context land dispute resolution is a major source of conflict. AVYF appear to be strengthening linkages that already exist and so are working 'in' a faith context.

AYENET specifically work through parishes with the aim of community development through youth participation. They have a specific peacebuilding aim, and engage with faith leaders and

faith communities through the parish structure to achieve their peacebuilding aims. AYENET also appear to be strengthening linkages that already exist, and so in this context are working 'in' a faith context.

CSG is an organisation that is established by Catholic priests. It utilises volunteers from the Cathedral to undertake its work in HIV/AIDS, but it does not appear to engage with faith, or directly work with faith congregations. It is also not possible to tell whether they would fit into a 'Do No Harm' philosophy with regard to their engagement with HIV/AIDS sufferers of other faiths.

EPPOVHA works with HIV/AIDS sufferers and as part of their activities they engage directly with church leaders and enable church leaders to talk with congregations about HIV/AIDS to reduce stigmatisation. On top of this they have included sensitisation material in their bible study materials and consequently are using spiritual materials and resources to encourage their development activities. Although it is unclear whether this is developing new linkages or strengthening existing linkages, or what impact this has upon peace writ little or Peace Writ Large, with regards to faith engagement it would suggest with a 'working in a faith context' and may also suggest 'working on a faith context' in a post-conflict setting.

FAPAD like EPPOVHA have no explicitly faith-based founders or connections. However, in FAPADs development and conflict resolution activities they work with religious leaders as part of community structures. This suggests that the organisation is working appropriately 'in a faith context' in that it is engaging with faith leaders, and thus strengthening linkages that exist.

Meeting Point Kitgum is a faith-based organisation working with HIV/AIDS. The work they do is mainly through health service provision and support of those who are HIV positive. In this they offer spiritual support although they do not appear to work with congregations or faith leadership. It is also not clear from their work how this impacts peace writ little or Peace Writ Large although they are registered as undertaking peace and conflict resolution activities. It is possible to infer that they work appropriately 'in a faith context'.

TEAMS works with a community development focus with local Christian faith communities, whatever their denomination. They undertake conflict resolution as part of their development activities and thus seek to contribute to peace writ little. As they work with communities that have different faith backgrounds this suggests that they are seeking to 'work on a faith context' as they establish new links and strengthen existing linkages and faith capacities for peace.

All of the three international FBDOs work through local faith communities and organisations, either by partnering with churches, or by funding local NGOs. CRS have also funded ARLPI which is an inter-faith initiative and suggests that they seek to work 'on a faith context', whereas Caritas and World Vision in this location may be thought of as working 'in a faith context'. However, the Justice and Reconciliation Project have commented that WV staff referred to local traditional practices as demonic and advised FAPs not to undergo these reconciliation ceremonies (Roco Wat I Acoli). This would imply that some WV staff were not complying with the 'Do No Harm' approach to faith, as in advising this they were limiting the reconciliation approaches available to returning combatants and other FAPs.

I examine CORD and ARLPI's levels of faith engagement in detail in Chapter Five, however, at this point it is worth noting that they ARLPI has a working 'on' a faith context engagement level and CORD through its partners has a working 'in' a faith context engagement level.

Of the other organisations working on peace and conflict resolution in Gulu and Kitgum there was no clear evidence that they worked with faith communities, or that they engaged in peacebuilding with a faith motivation.

## **5.1 Implications**

Undertaking research of FBDOs is made more challenging by the problems of identification. In this exercise it can be seen organisations neither identify themselves nor describe themselves as faith-based, yet engage with faith leaders and faith congregations as part of their development activities. An initial overview would not clearly identify them as faith-based organisations. Using Bouta et al.'s criteria for defining a faith-based organisation is more useful as a tool to identify such organisations for research purposes, although it still has limitations when undertaking desk-based research.

As identified by the mapping exercise resource implications significantly impact the different organisations' ability to undertake activities, and also to communicate effectively the work that they do. Organisations such as FAPAD, GYDA and KIWEPI, all had websites with relevant information about their activities. However, this information was limited and sketchy in comparison to an international NGO such as World Vision which had a variety of documents with relevant programme information available. Local NGOs struggle with the ability to promote their activities, so that they can gain funding, and also so that organisations can network effectively

and learn good practice from each other. This could be particularly relevant with regard to faith-based activity. There may well be appropriate training materials, which could be shared amongst FBDOs working with faith communities. However, accessing this information is difficult with limited resources and capacity.

The activities undertaken suggest a piecemeal nature to the faith-based work being undertaken. This may be indicative of the development field in general, whereby organisations seek to work with the issues that motivate them and for which they have some expertise. Even so, it would seem to be the case for these peacebuilding organisations working with faith groups in Gulu and Kitgum area. Organisations work with faith communities where links are established, or structures exist. They did not appear to be engaging with new communities, or developing links across communities. The local organisations appeared to struggle with the day to day realities of keeping programme activities operational and demonstrated little strategic planning or theoretical approach to the activities they undertook.

The mapping exercise suggests that in the context of Gulu and Kitgum there are FBDOs engaged in development activities with a peacebuilding component. The local FBDOs are challenged by the resource implications that they meet, and there is a mixture of approaches to engaging with faith depending upon background, funding, and target population.

The analysis of the peacebuilding role of these organisations combined with the analysis of their engagement with faith suggests that of the 20 organisations identified only 5 local FBDOs had an identifiable level of engagement with faith communities, and a peacebuilding role. Which suggests that faith-based peacebuilding in Kitgum and Gulu is not normative amongst the NGO community, and would also suggest that it has very limited impact if Paffenholz's contention that peacebuilding can only be undertaken through a peacebuilding role is correct.

## **6.0 Conclusions**

In this Chapter I have sought to address questions around the nature and extent of faith-based peacebuilding amongst local and international FBDOs in Gulu and Kitgum. I have examine two major aspects of their activities: their peacebuilding role and their engagement with faith and where this sits on a model including 'Do No Harm', 'Working in a faith context' and 'Working on a faith context'.

The analysis of the 20 different organisations demonstrated a number of factors outlined by researchers examining FBDOs. These are that local FBDOs are difficult to identify, they are challenged by limited financial and human resources, they are not able to promote their activities well, and they engage with faith in varying degrees dependent upon community links and development focus. The exercise also demonstrated the extent to which local and international FBDOs combine a level of faith engagement with a peacebuilding role. The evidence suggests that there is limited overlap between these two factors and consequently there is limited faith-based peacebuilding as part of FBDO activity in Gulu and Kitgum, as outlined in Table 4.2:

Table 4.2: Local and International NGOs working in Gulu and Kitgum: Faith Engagement and Peacebuilding Role

	Acronym	Faith-Based	Level of Faith-Engagement	Peacebuilding Role
Local	ARLPI	Yes	Working 'on' a faith context	Advocacy, Mediation, Protection, Inter-Faith Cohesion
	AVYF	Yes	Working 'in' a faith context	Mediation
	AYENET	Yes	Working 'in' a faith context	Facilitation, Socialisation
	CRESO	Unclear	Unclear	Advocacy
	CSG	Yes	Do No Harm	None identified
	EPPOVH A	Unclear	Working 'on' a faith context.	Advocacy
	FAPAD	Unclear	Working 'in' a faith context	Protection
	GYDA	Unclear	Unclear	None Identified
	HPH	Unclear	Unclear	None Identified
	KIWEPI	Unclear	Unclear	Protection
	LAPEWA	Unclear	Unclear	Protection
	LAG	Unclear	Unclear	Advocacy
	MPK	Yes	Do No Harm	None Identified
	TEAMS	Yes	Working 'on' a faith context.	None Identified
	TGSAM	Unclear	Not specifically	None Identified

	YSSG	Unclear	Not specifically	None Identified
International	Caritas	Yes	Working 'in' a faith context	Facilitation (through funding)
	CORD	Yes	Working 'in' a faith context	Socialisation (through partners)
	CRS	Yes	Working 'on' a faith context	Inter-Faith Cohesion (through funding)
	WV	Yes	Working 'in' a faith context?	Advocacy

This mapping exercise gave the background context to the work of the two organisations which were examined in the field research. The exercise highlighted the piecemeal nature of faith-based peacebuilding interventions in Gulu and Kitgum and some engagement with people of faith around issues that impacted their health and wellbeing. It demonstrated that there is little use of faith engagement as a strategic tool for peacebuilding through development activities.

This background mapping exercise has helped me to undertake a 'most different' case comparison looking at two case studies that were different apart from one or two key variables. I chose to look at two NGOs operating within the same conflict context, but one an international Christian Faith-Based Organisation operating through local partners, and the other an indigenous multi-faith organisation working at grassroots level and also at Track I and Track II levels of diplomacy. Both organisations operated in the same development arena, and both were seeking to bring about development activities with peacebuilding impacts. I examine the role of these two organisations in greater detail in Chapter Five.

## Chapter Five – Case Studies

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### 1.0 Introduction

In Chapter Four I sought to map out the local and international FBDO peacebuilding activity. In this chapter I seek to examine the role of two specific organisations in much greater detail in a ‘most-different’ case study. Through this case study I answer the questions: How do two specific faith-based organisations in Uganda relate to issues of faith and religion in the conflict context in which they are sited? What roles have they taken as peacebuilders within this context? How has this related to faith and religion? What are the underlying theories of change which guide the work of these organisations? What are the significant changes that these organisations have brought into a situation and how have these impacted the factors that promote peace and conflict? And how can FBDOs measure peacebuilding impacts upon faith attitudes, actions and behaviours to enable appropriate engagement? In order to answer these questions I have used a range of research techniques including desk and web-based research, the preparation of various evaluatory tools and questionnaires, and personal interview.

The two organisations being researched in depth are ARLPI a local multi-faith development organisation and CORD an international FBDO. They are different with regard to a number of variables but are similar in that they operate in this particular conflict context. The variables are demonstrated in the following table.

Table 5.1: The Different Variables in the Case Comparison of ARLPI and CORD

	ARLPI	CORD
Type of Organisation	Local, grassroots	International NGO
Faith Basis	Multi-faith	Christian
Locations	Kitgum and Gulu, Uganda	Leamington Spa, UK
Personnel	Local	Expatriate
Implementation	Direct project implementation	Partnering with local NGOs
Intervention type	Land Disputes and SGBV	Livelihoods and Education

Level of Implementation	Track I, Track II and Track III	Track III
Faith Engagement	Deliberate, planned	Un-planned, context-led.

The difficulty of measuring the impact of projects seeking to bring about socio-economic changes increases with the qualitative nature of the change being sought. Many development organisations and their donors are often bringing about changes in areas such as health and sanitation, education and livelihoods, all of which can be measured through quantitative means. However, if we are seeking to bring about a change to the quality of our partner communities life, then it is necessary to find ways of measuring that change. In this chapter I will clarify in greater detail the different methods used to examine the quantitative changes that have occurred as a result of the project interventions undertaken by CORD and ARLPI. I will outline the information that I gathered giving an analysis of the peacebuilding impact of the two organisations, and how this relates to the research objectives and questions that I have highlighted. By doing so I seek to continue to address the research question: How do two specific Faith-Based Organisations in Uganda relate to issues of faith and religion in the conflict context in which they are sited; what roles have they taken as peacebuilders within this context and how has this related to faith and religion? I also intend to examine the broader NGO context of faith and peacebuilding in greater detail to analyse the normative nature of faith and peacebuilding.

## 2.0 Case Studies

### 2.1 CORD Approach, Activities and Conflict Context

CORD is an international NGO, established in 1967 through a church in Leamington Spa which sought to give assistance to children orphaned in the Vietnam conflict. Since then the agency's work has grown and diversified. From 2005 they began work in Burundi, Chad, and Uganda in Africa, and Cambodia and Laos in Asia. CORD has sought to refine its approach and has endeavoured to become a 'peacebuilding' organisation, i.e. enabling 'direct' and 'indirect' peacebuilding impacts following development interventions. CORD describes itself as an organisation that is inspired by the Christian faith.

CORD became aware that international Aid and Development can sometimes be implicated in ongoing conflict, and therefore sought to develop its conflict sensitivity and to be proactively engaged in development activities with direct and indirect peacebuilding impacts. In 2011 CORD



considers itself to be in a process of mainstreaming conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding activities, but is striving to improve its performance in this context. To this end in 2007 CORD produced a position paper on working in conflict, and seeks to address the root causes of conflict through its development activities. CORD's baseline position is that livelihoods and education are the two areas which are most likely to have an impact upon root causes of conflict, and so endeavour to undertake development activities addressing these issues. Their paper states the following with regard to livelihood developments and conflict:

The relationship between conflict and livelihoods is complex, as livelihoods can be a contributing factor leading to the outbreak of violent conflict, and can also be a means to prevent violence. Conflict also has a major impact on livelihoods, as economies and infrastructure are weakened or destroyed, often resulting in the loss of access to livelihoods. The livelihoods of poor people are disproportionately affected as a result of conflict. CORD therefore prioritises livelihoods and conflict, as not only can it be a trigger for violent conflict, but also supporting livelihood opportunities enables people to have a means to immediate survival and long-term self-sufficiency, thus reducing livelihood failure and contributing to the prevention of violent conflict. Focusing on livelihoods also provides a means to engage with the process of restorative justice, the replacing of what was lost, and begin to remove barriers to reconciliation, and build and strengthen social cohesion amongst communities (Conflict position paper 2007 p.5)

In conjunction with this CORD seeks to ensure the cross-cutting themes of gender, Youth, Environment and HIV/AIDS are also part of their programme planning.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile CORD was approached by the Friends of Northern Uganda (FoNU), a support group formed from the Nottingham Branch of the United Nations Association in 2006. FoNU through one of its members had made a number of links with local civil society organisations in Northern Uganda which were engaged in development activities.<sup>29</sup> Following these discussions two personnel visited Northern Uganda for an assessment visit in 2007 and to explore potential partnerships with the local civil society organisations introduced by the FoNU report.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> CORD's Conflict Position Paper Aug 07 ver 2

<sup>29</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 10

<sup>30</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 9

CORD was keen to develop activities in Uganda, and saw this approach by FoNU and the assessment trip as an opportunity to develop their 'capacity development' approach to development interventions. In this capacity development approach CORD partners with local civil society organisations to undertake peacebuilding initiatives and in the process is involved in the development of the organisational, financial and conflict sensitive structures of the local organisations. As part of this assessment visit CORD undertook a peace and conflict assessment based on its own developed 'EPISTELS' assessment tool. This divides the areas to be assessed as; Environment, Political, Informatics, Social, Technology, Ecology, Legal, and Spiritual.

Although not as in-depth as the Peace and Conflict Impact Assessments prepared by Bush and others, CORD's tool gives a reasonably comprehensive assessment of the situation, and includes a spiritual element as part of the assessment, which is missing from other PCIA's. The spiritual element of CORD's assessment noted the 'cultic' nature of the LRA, that the Ugandan Government had mobilised Christian communities to pray for peace, and that the ARLPI had formed as a response to the violence.<sup>31</sup> In addition they noted that some respondents felt that they faced a 'cultural genocide' from the Government of Uganda whilst they ignored the plight of the Acholi people. The assessment highlighted the breakdown in social structure, chronic poverty, limited livelihood opportunities, poor educational opportunities and an increase in sexual gender based violence as a result of the conflict.

### **2.1.1 Choice of Partner Organisations**

Having conducted the in-country assessment, and having visited a number of different local CSO's CORD chose to partner with two local CSOs who most fitted in with CORD's aims, objectives and Theories of Change with regard to peacebuilding. Although CORD is a faith-based organisation they did not specifically seek to work with other faith-based organisations, or seek to work only with beneficiaries from a particular faith background, which is in line with the Red Cross code of conduct for development and humanitarian organisations. Neither was CORD seeking to focus on engaging with the faith context of the conflict, but to work on the areas of livelihoods and education which they believed to be part of the root causes of the conflict. CORD staff and board members are motivated by their faith to undertake professional and good quality development work in post-conflict areas, but were not seeking to impact the faith context of the target

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<sup>31</sup> EPISTELS document

population. CORD staff felt that in this context faith was a pro-peace factor despite the use of religious rhetoric by Joseph Kony to motivate the rebel forces, yet were not seeking to engage directly with faith issues.<sup>32</sup>

During the assessment period CORD had approached ARLPI but in the end chose not to work with them because they disagreed with their underlying theology of forgiveness and reconciliation.<sup>33</sup> I believe this 'theological' difference could be linked to different underlying theories with regard to spiritual and psycho-social change, and will discuss the different organisations theories of change in more detail later in this chapter.

At the time of partnership CORD did not have personnel in-country to monitor the work of the partners and so monitoring took place through reports, and occasional site visits. I shall look at the work of the two partners in more detail in the next two sections.

### **2.1.2 Kitgum Women Beekeepers Association (KITWOBEE)**

KITWOBEE is a small group of women beekeepers who wanted to improve the livelihood opportunities for other women through training courses on beekeeping, and through the provision of beekeeping equipment, and by offering processing facilities for the honey and other hive products such as wax and propolis. The aim of KITWOBEE was to empower women who were living in poverty and supporting orphans to improve their earning capacity and to help them out of poverty.<sup>34</sup> CORD sought funding from the Jersey Overseas Aid Committee (JOAC) to fund KITWOBEE through 2008 in order to undertake this project.

CORD chose to work with KITWOBEE because this organisation complemented CORD's approach to development and supported livelihood provision for women and their families. The training offered by the women included environmental care through the planting of indigenous nectar-producing trees and shrubs, and with its gender specific focus on livelihoods and empowerment met CORDs criteria for intervention. A further component in the decision was the changing nature of the conflict situation. CORD believed that KITWOBEE's work could be undertaken either in the IDP camps, or should the camp inhabitants start returning to their homes,

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<sup>32</sup> Interview, 2013, Respondent 9

<sup>33</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 9

<sup>34</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 13

then the hives could be re-sited within people's local communities. In this regard CORD felt that this project was flexible to the conflict setting, and that KITWOBEE would benefit from the capacity development input of CORD.<sup>35</sup>

This item has been removed due to data protection. The unabridged version of the thesis can be viewed in the Lanchester Library Coventry University.

Photo 5.1 Personnel at KITWOBEE holding the various awards they have earned for production of quality honey.

### **2.1.3 Information for Youth Empowerment Programme (IYEP)**

IYEP is a group of Former Abducted Persons working with non-abducted counterparts. At the time of CORDs intervention this group sought to help ex-combatants to re-integrate into their 'home' communities, whether these were located in actual villages or within IDP camps. IYEP used a two pronged approach to achieve this aim, the first was to provide livelihoods input and assist in the development of income generating activities. They undertook this through training courses, and also through the provision of livestock for multiplication. The livelihoods training was for a number of months as opposed to a few weeks, which was the common training period amongst other CSOs, and the livelihoods were chosen once IYEP had completed an assessment

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<sup>35</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 9

to identify viable markets for trainees. The second approach was to undertake traditional and cultural activities with the youth of the community. This included football, dance, and poetry. The aim of the project was to reduce the stigmatisation felt by the FAPs, and to enable the community to accept these people as contributing members of their communities again. The organisation also included youth from the community, who were not FAPs, but who were causing the community some difficulties through anti-social behaviour. The purpose of this was to demonstrate that the whole community was to be assisted and not just FAPs. The project designers' main concern was that disaffected youth could return to the 'bush' and rejoin the rebel movement or might chose to join Government forces and establish their livelihoods as military-based.<sup>36</sup>

CORD was impressed by the young men and women who formed IYEP, and believed that the work that IYEP sought to do in the communities was essential to assist in the re-integration of young men and women into their home communities once again. CORD felt the support of local traditional mechanisms was essential to the development of stability for communities: the focus on youth, and the provision of livelihoods training and income generating activities was in accordance with CORD's approach to development activities.<sup>37</sup>

### **2.1.4 Theories of Change**

In seeking to understand the processes behind the project intervention it is important to understand the 'theories of change' employed by those responsible for both project development and implementation. These theories are often not clearly or explicitly stated in project proposals, and it is possible for different theories to exist with regard to the same project. CORD's theory of change with regards to their intervention was twofold. The first theory is the one cited in their position paper on conflict, that tackling the root causes of the conflict through livelihoods and provision of education is key to helping to build peace. The second theory of change related to the manner in which they intervened. That is if CORD worked alongside a local CSO, and through this process worked to enable the capacity of the local CSO to be developed this would improve future project interventions, increase the ability of CSOs to plan, strategize and develop their work, increase the conflict-sensitivity of project interventions increase the sustainability of project

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<sup>36</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 11

<sup>37</sup> Northern Uganda Operational Plan 2008: CORD Internal Document

impacts, and enable CSOs to function more effectively within the humanitarian aid and development field. Through this strategy CORD believed that the peacebuilding impact of local CSOs would improve and consequently there would be greater indirect and direct peacebuilding impacts. In this regard although the project interventions of the two partners were important, and CORD sought to choose activities that complemented their style and approach, their organisational goal was to seek transformation through the development of partner organisations, and this transformation having a long-term impact upon the development interventions of these two organisations. CORD did not have a set objective to work with other CSOs that were faith-based, and neither of these organisations is explicitly faith-based, although most of their employees and volunteers have a faith-background, and they are working in a faith-context where faith is a normative part of daily life.<sup>38</sup>

Both partner organisations understood that CORD sought to work with them to develop their capacity, but the partner organisations theories of change were related to the project intervention, and less toward organisational development. KITWOBEE board members had a more logical-rational theory of change, in that the beekeepers harvested their honey, and through consumption of the honey, honey sale and the processing of other hive products, then women would be empowered through the increased income that they received to support their families, and provide for the health and education of their dependents.<sup>39</sup> In addition to this KITWOBEE members also had a more relational theory of change, as they believed that the project was successful because of the informal groups of women that were formed, and that the support of other group members contributed to the success of their work.<sup>40</sup>

IYEP's theory of change was based on their own transformation as 'ex-combatants' to productive and useful members of the community. IYEP believed that as role-models and as positive examples they could prove to young people and their communities that FAPs had a significant and important role to play in their communities. This role-modelling by the personnel of IYEP was as important as the development activities, as it provided the 'proof' that the development activities could have a long-lasting and tangible outcome<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 9

<sup>39</sup> Interviews, 2010, Respondent 13, 14, 15, and 16

<sup>40</sup> Interviews, 2010, Respondents 14, and 19

<sup>41</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 11

These theories of change demonstrate clearly the difference between theories of change from the global north, and theories of change from the global south: which is that the theories of change postulated by organisations from the north tend to be more of a logical progression of thought, whereas theories of change from the south tend to be more complex and relational and consequently more difficult to relate to from a western perspective (Eyben et al. 2008: 211). This different approach to theories of change may have contributed to CORD's 'theological' differences with ARLPI who perceived peace and reconciliation coming from a relational approach to development activities. However, it is clear that there is a difference between the INGO's theories of change and theories of the organisations from the global south. I will develop the significance of theories of change to the theoretical framework of inter-faith peacebuilding in Chapter Six.

### **2.1.5 Role as Peacebuilders and Impact upon 'Peace Writ Large' and 'peace writ little'**

As an organisation seeking to undertake development activities with peacebuilding impacts CORD had chosen its two partners as organisations whose aims and interventions were most coherent with the position paper on conflict prepared by CORD earlier. KITWOBEE's initial proposal to CORD did not include any direct or indirect peacebuilding impacts as part of its expected outcomes, and its main focus was economic empowerment for women. However, CORD's position was that the work itself would contribute to 'peace writ little' because of the nature of the intervention. IYEP's proposal was more specific in addressing issues of peacebuilding and it contained two specific objectives toward peacebuilding, which included 'healing of trauma' and 'creating space for dialogue'. CORD sought to facilitate the work of peacebuilding through its partner organisations through provision of appropriate funding, and through assisting the two partner organisations in the capacity development of the organisation to enable more accountable, transparent and conflict sensitive programming. In this regard CORD took a facilitation role as peacebuilders. Through their activities both KITWOBEE and IYEP enabled groups of people to live and work together, through their livelihood and re-integration activities and consequently both organisations took a peacebuilding role of socialisation, bringing together different individuals to form groups, some of whom were from different faith groups.

The impact upon 'peace writ little', and 'Peace Writ Large' is difficult to measure as neither CORD nor its partners developed indicators prior to project implementation with regard to the factors that

contributed towards peace or towards conflict. In the post-project evaluation I was able to talk to staff members and some beneficiaries about the contribution of the projects to peace.

KITWOBEE members commented that the concept of putting women together into groups had contributed significantly to community relationships, and had enabled women to work together to problem-solve at times.<sup>42</sup> The women stated that they felt encouraged by being in a group, and that the quality of their lives had improved not just as a result of the increase in income, but also as a result of improved neighbourhood relations which they put down to training they had received from KITWOBEE. Although this was not a stated objective of the organisation,<sup>43</sup> or one for which an indicator had been developed, respondents felt that the formation of groups had contributed to 'peace' in this regard. Other respondents commented that the increase in income meant that children and young people were less likely to become involved in criminal activities, and that this too contributed to peace in the locality. Additionally it was felt that the inclusion of men as 'associate members' of KITWOBEE had reduced the unforeseen side-effect of increased domestic tension, as men were able to benefit from the processing facilities and increased income, and consequently tensions within the household were reduced.<sup>44</sup> For CORD one significant part of KITWOBEE's contribution was the inclusion of one particular man as an associate member in the group. He was known and reviled for various atrocities that he had committed whilst a member of the LRA but had been able to join KITWOBEE because of his significant understanding of queen-rearing amongst bees. This act had made a contribution to his re-integration into his local community, and CORD management felt that this demonstrated the impact of their work upon 'peace writ little'.<sup>45</sup> Although this evidence suggested that KITWOBEE had contributed to 'peace writ little', it was not possible to determine whether this project had contributed to 'Peace Writ Large'.

It was not possible to interview any beneficiaries from IYEP, however, staff and records demonstrate that none of the young people involved in the livelihoods and education programme returned to the 'bush' or resorted to a career in the Ugandan army. In addition staff from IYEP stated that relationships between ex-combatants and their home communities were significantly

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<sup>42</sup> Interviews, 2010, Respondents 18 and 19

<sup>43</sup> KITWOBEE proposal March 2006 prepared by chairwoman

<sup>44</sup> Interviews, 2010, Respondents 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17.

<sup>45</sup> Unpublished presentation prepared for seminar on Beekeeping and Peacebuilding, CORD internal documents



improved after the project intervention and saw this as an 'indirect' peacebuilding impact from their activities.<sup>46</sup>

Although no formal indicators were set to measure impact upon peace and conflict indicators, my interviews with staff and beneficiaries suggest that both projects had a 'felt' impact upon 'peace writ little'. It is not possible to state whether the non-return of ex-combatants and FAPs to 'the Bush' had an impact upon 'Peace Writ Large', though it could be surmised that their successful re-integration into the community may have had a small knock-on effect with regards to 'Peace Writ Large', and it was certainly part of a much broader effort to assist in the return of ex-combatants to a peaceful society, and consequently complemented national efforts.

### **2.1.6 Engagement with Faith Issues**

As an FBDO CORD does not seek to work only with people of the same faith-background, but seeks appropriate partners from whatever faith-background or non-faith background. KITWOBEE was at first anxious that CORD might insist that they only worked with members of church groups, and was relieved to discover this was not the case<sup>47</sup>. CORD did not seek to engage with the faith aspects of the conflict, although it did recognise the strong faith and spiritual context in which the conflict was set. Neither partner described itself as a faith-based organisation or sought to engage with faith as an integral part of the conflict; however both partners were operating in a profoundly spiritual environment where faith and religious belief are integral elements of cultural norms and activities (Liu Institute 2005: 10).

KITWOBEE had stated that the main peace benefit from its work was the strong support and encouragement the women received from their community groups. Although not an intentional part of project planning, all the groups were made up of women from different faith-backgrounds<sup>48</sup> as faith communities are mixed within Northern Uganda. As a result an unexpected impact of the work was increased inter-faith understanding and communication. This would have to be acknowledged as on a very informal basis, but the formation of these natural groups made up of different faith-backgrounds could contribute to a grass-roots understanding of diversity.

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<sup>46</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 11

<sup>47</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 17

<sup>48</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 16 and 17

IYEP also had no particular motive to work with members of particular faith groups. The staff member interviewed was strongly aware of the indoctrination of ex-combatants and other FAPs into a rebel group that used religious rhetoric and scripture to motivate and inspire combatants in their efforts. However, personnel remained very aware that each FAP came from a spiritual background where faith was an exceptionally important part of returnees' lives. In this regard they were able to counsel returnees appropriate to their faith. For example if the returnee was a Catholic or Protestant IYEP would advise them to have prayer with their priest. If returnees were Muslim to have prayer with their Imam, and if from an African Traditional Background to go through the appropriate cleansing ceremonies with their spiritual leader. In every instance returnees were encouraged to undertake whichever cultural, traditional or religious practice that had meaning for the returnee, their families and their communities, to assist with re-integration.<sup>49</sup> In contrast IYEP gave examples of other FBOs which had encouraged FAPs to be 'saved' as a result of returning from the 'bush' by embracing Christianity. In this regard IYEP acted with integrity toward the spiritual background of the counselee by offering advice that was more appropriate to the FAPs spiritual needs.

Within development circles it has become acceptable to talk about working 'in' conflict or working 'on' conflict to denote the level of engagement that the organisation has with addressing the root causes of the conflict. Hence an organisation working 'in' conflict would endeavour to undertake development activities which did not contribute to the conflict dynamic negatively and had indirect peacebuilding impacts. An organisation working 'on' conflict would actively seek to address the factors that fed the underlying conflict by reducing those factors that exacerbated the conflict and strengthening those factors which promoted a non-violent resolution of the conflict. As we talk about working 'in' conflict or working 'on' conflict I believe it is possible to further refine this concept with regard to FBDOs and the faith context in which they work.

In developing a theoretical framework for FBDOs to engage with faith communities in conflict and post-conflict settings it is possible to state that: FBDOs can work 'in' a faith context in a conflict setting; or they can work 'on' a faith context in a conflict setting. Although CORD as an FBDO was not working 'on' issues of faith and peace in this context, the partners with whom they worked - mainly because they were local CSOs comprised of Northern Ugandans who had been wholly immersed in the conflict and in that cultural setting – were positively working 'in' this faith

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<sup>49</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 11

context, and working with the different faith backgrounds that were present in their target communities. I shall now go on to examine the work of the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI), who explicitly aimed to work 'on' the faith context in this conflict setting.

## **2.2 ARLPI Approach, Activities and Conflict Context**

As the civil war between the LRA and the Government of Uganda continued the religious leaders of Northern Uganda were becoming increasingly concerned for the welfare of all their congregations. ARLPI recognised that whatever anyone's faith background all were suffering tremendously from the fear of physical assault, abduction and death; and from the effects of having to move into the many Internally Displaced People camps located around Northern Uganda.<sup>50</sup> The provision of food aid had done much to alleviate suffering, but the methods used for allocating food had bypassed traditional elders, and had contributed to a breakdown in the cultural practice of food-sharing. As a result traditional practice and culture had suffered and leadership structures were not working effectively in the IDP camps (Okumu-Alya 2010: 101). This breakdown in structures had hampered efforts by leaders to advocate for their communities.

ARLPI arose when the Catholic Archbishop, the Protestant Archbishop, and the Muslim Qadir in the Diocese of Kitgum came together to endeavour to alleviate the suffering of their combined congregations in Northern Uganda in August 1987 (Lukwiya Ochola 2006). ARLPI's aim was to unite the Acholi people in the process of peacebuilding and development of Northern Uganda. Their primary objective was to unite as people of faith in bringing peace, social harmony, justice, and healing to the Acholi. In addition to this they also sought economic development for the Acholi people (Beyna et al. 2001: 53).

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<sup>50</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 7

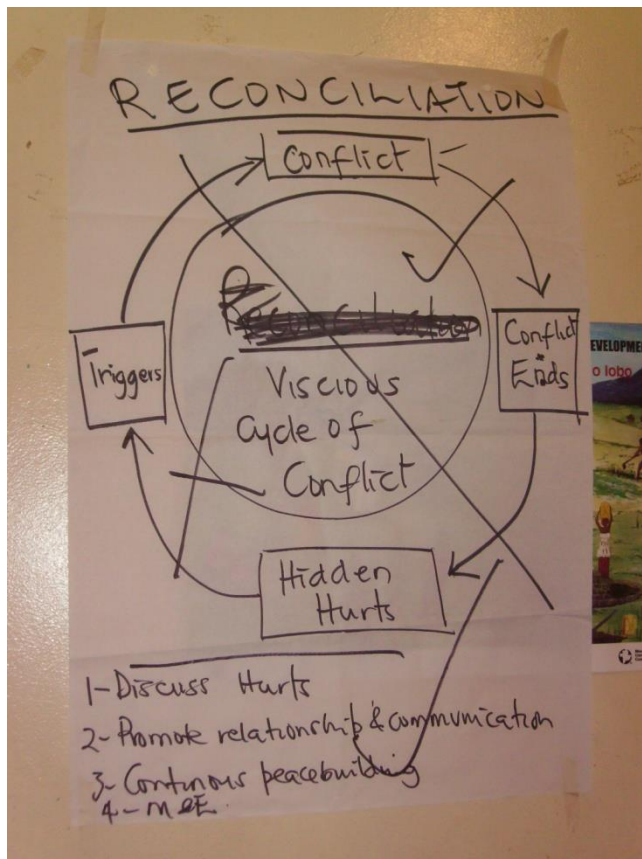


Photo 5.2: Taken from ARLPI workshop on Reconciliation in October 2010

ARLPI were focused on the three major religions in Northern Uganda working together in a transparent manner and of representing a united front against the violence and atrocities that were being committed at that time. This joint approach was seen as a departure from the polarisation of the different faith backgrounds historically, and the common humanity of those suffering was the primary motive for this stance. The venture was to be specifically inter-faith, so that all religions could be seen working together.<sup>51</sup>

ARLPI's work started initially with their representations to the Government for a non-military resolution of the conflict in Northern Uganda. They also sought to talk with the rebels to facilitate the peace process and as a result they were viewed with some suspicion on both sides (Ginifer 2006). However, they were part of the process which led to the passing of the Amnesty Act in 1999 which enabled combatants to return to their home communities without fear of prosecution. It is also noted that despite Museveni's hard-line military approach to dealing with the Lord's Resistance Army, the influence of ARLPI led to his acceptance of their position that traditional

<sup>51</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 7

justice mechanisms were an appropriate solution to the ongoing conflict, as it was mainly the people of Northern Uganda who had been affected by their northern compatriots. This relationship with central government did give ARLPI legitimacy in their work in the north, and they focused on local causes of violence and disharmony (Beyna et al. 2001: 18).

In 2008 ARLPI completed a survey, and had begun to focus their work more specifically on particular area of work, both geographic and thematic. The two primary causes of violence identified amongst the Acholi people were violent conflicts as a result of land disputes, and sexual gender-based violence (SGBV). Consequently their development activities have focused on these two areas<sup>52</sup>. Land disputes were becoming increasingly common as former IDP's and ex-combatants returned to their home communities. The original land owner had died and now boundaries were contested. In the cases of female-headed households and orphan households these parties were often losing their rights to own land. In addition to this, the IDP camps had been built upon privately owned land, and as the camps were dissolved the ownership of this land was also contested. Disputes over land rights would extend from individuals to families, communities, and even sub-counties were in dispute over land ownership. SGBV had increased as a result of living in IDP camps, where women were unprotected, or resorting to prostitution to survive. In addition, humanitarian aid programmes which targeted women as recipients left men disempowered, increasingly turning to alcohol and consequently more violent against women<sup>53</sup>.

In response to these two major issues ARLPI developed two separate programmes. The first was a mediation practice with the cooperation of local government, legal authorities and cultural leaders, in which the disputing parties were able to have their cases heard. The combination of different representatives, helped by the facilitation of ARLPI religious leaders often led to the successful resolution of the dispute<sup>54</sup>. The second practice involved a combination of community training sessions on women's rights with legal input from the local authorities which was combined with 'moral' input from the local religious leaders as well, outlining women's rights. In addition a counsellor was available to help husbands and wives to resolve disputes on a more practical and personal level.<sup>55</sup> The common theme with these two approaches is that having

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<sup>52</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 8.

<sup>53</sup> These observations by ARLPI are corroborated by researchers and academics such as Okumu-Alya, Beyna et al. Ginifer.

<sup>54</sup> An example of this is the Land Stakeholders Collaboration Project undertaken in conjunction with USAID 2010

<sup>55</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 8

placed the issues in a legal context the religious leaders offered a moral legitimacy and sanction to the process.

### **2.2.1 Theories of Change**

The respondents when discussing the process that enabled the success of the activities shared a number of concepts which were effectively principles of engagement. These included:

- The overarching human need that was present which surpassed religious differences<sup>56</sup>
- The role-modelling of the religious leaders as they worked together and the commitment that they showed to inter-faith cooperation<sup>57</sup>
- The cooperative working with secular, cultural and traditional leaders and a holistic method of approaching disputes and conflict<sup>58</sup>

In this regard all these theories were not about the process of change, but about underpinning values which meant that the activities were taking place in an appropriate environment. It was clear in the respondents thinking that these factors were as important as the activities themselves, and without these being a part of the activities then they would have had limited or no success.

### **2.2.2 Role as Peacebuilders and Impact upon 'Peace Writ Large' and 'peace writ little'**

ARLPI demonstrated a number of different roles as peacebuilders. They initially worked as advocates and observers for the Acholi people during the negotiation of the Amnesty process and its implementation. ARLPI's role as advocates changed along with the conflict context and during the period under research ARLPI demonstrated both roles as mediators within communities undergoing violent conflict, and they also they acted at all times to demonstrate inter-faith cohesion as part of their role.

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<sup>56</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 8

<sup>57</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 7

<sup>58</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 7

ARLPI in its programme preparation had not developed indicators to measure peacebuilding impact; however it was possible to speak with respondents about their perceptions of the social impacts of ARLP's work in this area. The comments received demonstrated that partner communities perceived that ARLPI's work had enabled them to return to their home communities,<sup>59</sup> and that the ongoing work in the communities meant that returnees were beginning to process the trauma they had experienced, return to a 'normal' life,<sup>60</sup> and that there was a reduction in SGBV as a result of the work ARLPI had undertaken.<sup>61</sup>

As there are no baseline indicators for this information it is impossible to measure the accuracy of these perceptions. Though it is clear that respondents believed that ARLPI with its high profile advocacy work had impacted 'Peace Writ Large'; and in addition ARLPI's grass-roots community level projects had impacted 'peace writ little, which in turn impacted 'Peace Writ Large'.<sup>62</sup> Mediation projects were seen as empowering for the community, enabling them to have an active part in decision making. The work on reducing SGBV was seen to have a long-term impact on future generations as children were no longer witnessing this violence, or subject to it.<sup>63</sup> One respondent commented that the changes within Acholi society, as a result of the work of ARLPI were too big to measure as there had been so many.<sup>64</sup> Additionally, Beyna et al.'s research indicates that ARLPI's work may have contributed to a reduction in factors fuelling the conflict (2001: 60) and that the formation of local committees to resolve conflicts assisted 'peace writ little' (2001: 57).

In assessing whether ARLPI have contributed to 'peace writ little' through the support of traditional justice mechanisms to enable re-integration the evidence appears to be mixed. ARLPI have pursued this as a way to bring 'accountability, justice and peace to the region' (International Alert 2008: 10). It would appear that non-Acholi respondents are three times more likely than Acholi respondents to suggest that combatants should be held criminally accountable (Pham et al. 2005: 26). This evidence suggests that the Acholi people are keen to embrace traditional justice mechanisms to enable re-integration and the pursuit of peace writ little and 'Peace Writ Large'. Contrary to this Allen suggests that a large proportion of people from Acholiland do want

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<sup>59</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 2

<sup>60</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 4

<sup>61</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 3

<sup>62</sup> Interviews, 2010, Respondent 1, 2, and 4

<sup>63</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 3

<sup>64</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 7

to see combatants held criminally accountable and 'it's not all about forgiveness' (Allen 2005: 65). This desire for retributive justice suggests that the ARLPI's contribution to 'peace writ little' through the pursuit of Traditional Justice Mechanisms is not as clear cut as they would state. However, Allen also states that ARLPI are accorded considerable respect at Government level and their work has contributed to an increase in acceptance of the role of forgiveness at a regional and national level (Allen 2005: 69). Although difficult to measure this national acceptance of the role of forgiveness does suggest a further contribution to 'Peace Writ Large'.

In impacting upon 'Peace Writ Large' it is acknowledge by International Alert and DfID that ARLPI moved forward the amnesty process and in so doing contributed to 'Peace Writ Large'. In addition Beyna et al. comment that ARLPI improved mid-level relationships between a variety of different actors, and they also reduced sectarian rivalries that existed, especially between Catholic and Protestant (2001: 56-57). They are perceived at local level to have impacted both 'Peace Writ Large', and also to have a significant impact upon 'peace writ little'.

One criticism of ARLPI that has been promoted and which was an unexpected outcome of their activities is that during the negotiation stages with the LRA the local Government officials were undermined by ARLPI activity (Beyna et al. 2001: 58). Furthermore they were criticised for organisational difficulties and lack of capacity (Ginifer 2006: 26). Both of these criticisms will have had an adverse affect upon their contributions to 'peace writ little'. However, the organisational difficulties and lack of capacity are issues that are not surprising for an ecumenical local organisation, and despite these problems ARLPI appear to have made a significant contribution to both 'Peace Writ Large' and 'peace writ little'.

### **2.2.3 Engagement with Faith Issues**

ARLPI entered the peacebuilding arena as a coalition of different faiths, part of the faith-context, and also aware of the very negative impact that faith and religious difference has had upon the various violent conflicts that have marked Uganda's history. In this regard Acholi Religious Leaders have endeavoured to pioneer a way of working 'on' the faith context in which they have their congregations. The leaders began the process by working with their wider constituencies to



raise awareness of inter-faith working, and due to the suffering of these groups received support for this ecumenical approach to the conflict.<sup>65</sup>

In endeavouring to pursue peace the leaders have cooperated with each other and presented a united front to the authorities when negotiating and mediating for peace. Although they are comprised of Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox and Muslim clergy they have also encompassed local cultural and traditional practices for reconciliation and forgiveness. This has not always been without criticism from members of their own faith traditions, especially with regard to the use of 'Mato Oput' as a tool for reconciliation.<sup>66</sup> However, the wholesale endorsement of these and other traditional reconciliation practices by ARLPI has addressed the spiritual concerns of many of their congregations, for whom a traditional/cultural ceremony may have greater meaning and relevance than a specifically Christian or Muslim prayer ceremony.

A further component of their practice has been the cooperation with secular and traditional authorities, which brings a spiritual and moral component to legal issues. This cooperation has given spiritual sanction to the legislative requirements for human rights for example, and this cooperation with cultural and traditional leaders has been crucial for the successful mediation of land conflicts, whereby community members have felt 'heard' by all the authorities, and specifically those with whom they feel greatest affinity.<sup>67</sup>

ARLPI have used the power of their position as faith leaders within a community to draw along their wider constituencies giving moral authority and legitimacy to the peace process, and to inter-faith cooperation. ARLPI have used the resources available to their congregations, utilising property and buildings, but also people for meetings and community work. In addition they have used the cultural and traditional importance of spirituality in their work, to add legitimacy to human rights initiatives and in the resolution of violent conflicts over land disputes. In this regard ARLPI have engaged with faith issues on every level, and have used this to move communities toward 'peace writ little'. ARLPI have also changed roles dependent upon the conflict situation, moving from advocates to mediators, and varying the means by which they have sought to engage the Acholi population in the process of increasing communal pluralism and social cohesion as ARLPI have modelled inter-faith cohesion.

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<sup>65</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 8

<sup>66</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 8

<sup>67</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 7.

## **2.3 Measurement of Success**

Both CORD and ARLPI had developed indicators for success in undertaking their activities in line with donor expectations. From my research these indicators had been around the quantitative nature of the project undertaken such as number of women beekeepers, or number of young men trained, or numbers of mediations undertaken successfully. From the literature it was not possible to determine how either impact upon 'Peace Writ Large' or 'peace writ little' was to be measured, or if the partner communities had been included in decision-making around potential social impacts. The use of the adapted 'Most Significant Change' methodology suggested that partner communities were able to reflect upon project interventions and comment upon social impacts that they perceived as a result of the interventions. The difficulty that some interviewees had in understanding the concept of 'significant' does highlight the need for partners to be fully included in the monitoring and evaluation process, and to have a complete understanding of what it is the organisation is endeavouring to measure. Measurement of social impact is extremely difficult and donor indicators often do not encourage organisations to think about qualitative evaluation methods. At a meeting with DfID that I attended in 2010 only quantitative indicators of success were offered to organisations seeking to access the Civil Society Fund, and personnel had little concept of how qualitative indicators might be assessed. Through the various interviews and other research it has been possible to demonstrate that these two organisations have had 'success' in the work they have undertaken, however a more systematic approach to developing indicators of success for social impact with partner communities is necessary to be able to fully measure project impact and to learn from project interventions.

### **2.3.1 Level of Faith Engagement - Case Studies**

As shown in the case study ARLPI emphasized the different areas of connection between all the faith groups. All communities in the affected areas of Northern Uganda felt disenfranchised by the 'Southern' Government and felt that they did not have access to power and resources. They all were dependent upon farming for their livelihoods and this had been taken from them as they had to live in IDP camps due to the violent conflict. Every person had the same shared experience of witnessing atrocities and living in fear of abduction, death or torture. ARLPI took these connectors and took the stance that all people, regardless of faith background were suffering as a result of the ongoing conflict. ARLPI advocated for the people of Acholi and for an end to the violence and

the human rights abuses.<sup>68</sup> ARLPI highlighted the attitudes that were prevalent in all the different faith backgrounds, which is that they wanted the violence to end, and to be able to live in peace. In addition an inter-faith network was established through the work of the different faith leaders within Acholiland, which was formalised in the formation of ARLPI. This group established a new set of relationships between different faith leaders as they mobilised around ending the violence, thus establishing new connectors. In this regard ARLPI were working 'on' faith in a conflict setting.

CORD chose partner organisations that prioritised livelihoods, trade and education. These were connectors that linked people of different faith backgrounds as all had been impacted by the conflict. Although CORD did not explicitly plan to strengthen these connections between people of different faith backgrounds, their partner organisations, who were working with people in this varied faith context did in fact strengthen these connections through trade, livelihoods and education. The connections already existed, but through the work of the partner organisations these linkages were strengthened. CORD partners were also intentionally supportive of symbols and occasions that brought about reconciliation and re-integration within the community across faith backgrounds.<sup>69</sup> Thus through the partner organisations CORD was working 'in' a faith context in a conflict situation. No new connectors were established, but existing connectors were supported and no connectors were damaged.

### **3.0 Motivation of Organisations**

In Chapter One I discussed some research that stated that the decision to engage in faith-based peacebuilding was not just based on spiritual motivation, but at times was also based upon rational decision-making when the legitimacy and moral authority of faith leaders was being threatened (De Juan 2010: 10). Thus, it is worth endeavouring to examine the motivation of the NGOs researched and to seek to understand how much rational decision-making as opposed to the peace ethic inherent in their faith tradition was a component of their peacebuilding activity.

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<sup>68</sup> Interviews, 2010, Respondents 7 and 8

<sup>69</sup> Interviews, 2010, Respondents 17 and 11

### **3.1 Faith Leaders of ARLPI**

ARLPI give their motivation for their inter-faith peacebuilding work as the awful situation that all the people of Acholiland placed in IDP camps found themselves in as a result of the ongoing conflict with the LRA.

The idea of coming together came from one man, Bishop of the Diocese of Northern Uganda. He sold his ideas to the Catholic Bishop, and the Muslim Community District Qadi, he also sold it to the believers and they agreed together because of the insecurity, because it affected all the people in this community, whatever denomination or religion, if you are in Northern Uganda, you are affected. The idea came as an attempt to rescue the situation the people were in. The purpose was an attempt to rescue the people in this situation. Where people had lost lives, were in IDP camps, children abducted, taken by force for being soldiers, women raped, and a number of atrocities happened in the communities.<sup>70</sup>

The organisation developed from the 'Joint Justice and Peace' committee which had come together and had been collecting evidence of human rights abuses and atrocities (Lukiwa Ochola 2006: 132). These events and the combined suffering of the Acholi people are stated to be the prime motivators for the development of ARLPI. The faith leaders who comprised ARLPI were not involved in pro-violence rhetoric at any point. However, faced with congregations who were living in IDP camps where the social and cultural fabric of Acholi society was breaking down, the legitimacy and moral authority of faith leaders was being eroded by camp structures (Okumu Alya undated: 101). These factors may have contributed to the decisions of faith leaders to seek to bring an end to the ongoing violent conflict in Northern Uganda.

De Juan and Vullers also state that where religious elites work together, and where there are good linkages with local religious faith leaders, all are less likely to be in personal danger as a result of their peace rhetoric, and their messages are more likely to be received (2010: 14-15).

### **3.2 Faith Leaders Amongst LNGOs**

From the evidence gathered it is not clear what motivates faith leaders amongst the LNGOs. All comment upon the need that they are seeking to address through their development activities.

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<sup>70</sup> Interviews, 2010, Respondent 7

AVYF specifically stated that they wanted to help young people be 'God-fearing' which suggests a particularly faith-based motivation for their development and peace activities. MPK also highlights that it was started by members of the lay Catholic community. However, it does not stipulate if their motivation came from their faith.

From this snapshot of LNGOs working in Gulu and Kitgum in peacebuilding it is not possible to discern the faith motivation or otherwise behind their development and peacebuilding activities.

### **3.3 INGO's Faith Motivation**

Although CORD is a faith-based organisation their motivation for engaging with peacebuilding had been mixed. Part of the motivation came from their faith background, but having worked with refugees and those who had been displaced as a result of conflict, they sought to work in areas where peacebuilding might divert the need for people to be displaced, either within their own country or to a neighbouring country, and hence their focus on peacebuilding as part of their development activities began.<sup>71</sup>

Caritas and CRS are both Catholic development organisations. Caritas work is founded on the Catholic Justice principles and consequently their peacebuilding activities are motivated by their faith. CRS are equally motivated by their faith in their peacebuilding activities as noted by Gerstbauer (2010:857). In an evaluation of several international FBDs, including CRS and WV, Gerstbauer also writes that WV are primarily motivated by their faith to engage in peacebuilding activities through their development activities (Gerstbauer 2010: 860). To some extent this faith motivation is observed through their project activities engagement with faith and faith communities.

## **4.0 Findings on Barriers to Faith-Based Peacebuilding**

The mapping exercise demonstrates that apart from ARLPI there were 15 LNGOs working in Gulu and Kitgum with a mandate of peace and conflict resolution amongst their development activities. Of these 15 LNGOs only 4 were identifiable as having a faith basis for their activities. Of these 15 LNGOs: 7 work with faith leaders, or faith congregations, or engage specifically with faith in their communities; the other 8 organisations although operating in a context where faith is normative did not engage with faith. In addition, of the 16 LNGO's researched only 5 LNGOs had

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<sup>71</sup> Respondent x, personal interview, 2013.

an identifiable peacebuilding role as part of their development activities. This highlights a number of issues:

- a) Faith-based peacebuilding is not recognised as a legitimate means of peacebuilding within Gulu and Kitgum communities as so few LNGOs engage with faith as a means to develop their peacebuilding activities.
- b) There appears to be very limited co-ordination of faith-based peacebuilding initiatives, even within the same sector. 7 of these organisations work specifically with HIV/AIDS, yet there was no evidence of co-ordination between these organisations, even where organisations were working with faith leaders and faith congregations. Such networking could have enable appropriate sharing of resources, and contributed to the effective replication of work across the region.
- c) In depth analysis of the work of ARLPI and CORD demonstrated a contribution to both peace writ little and Peace Writ Large through their development activities. Although it was clear that all 16 LNGOs sought to be involved in peace writ little and/or Peace Writ Large only 6 LNGOs appeared to have developed a peacebuilding role as part of their development activities. This absence of a peacebuilding role suggests that although the organisations are motivated to engage in peacebuilding, they do not have the organisational capacity to undertake peacebuilding activities.
- d) The majority of the LNGOs identified the resource limitations that they experienced in terms of finances, personnel and infrastructure. Although LNGOs may be close to the grassroots and consequently best-placed to undertake peacebuilding activities, they are also unable to secure the resources that they need for this purpose.
- e) Of the LNGOs identified only ARLPI worked with people from a different faith tradition. The other 7 organisations who worked with faith worked with those of the same faith background and/or with denominations of the same overall tradition, i.e Catholic and Protestant.

## **4.1 Signs of Encouragement**

It is clear that for 7 of these LNGOs engaging with communities through faith structures was seen as an appropriate method for undertaking development activities and engaging in peacebuilding.

There was a range of methods and approaches to faith engagement, which included training of leadership and congregations, the preparation of appropriate spiritual material for use in churches and bible studies, and the use of ritual and prayer. Although there is little information available for these organisations on faith-based peacebuilding and engaging with faith, the normative nature of faith in this context and the organisations desire to undertake peacebuilding through development had produced various grassroots approaches to engaging with faith.

All of the INGOs assisted the work of local NGOs through funding and the capacity development of partner LNGOs, CRS and Caritas in particular had an overtly faith-based motivation to their work. Of these CRS funded a number of faith-based NGOs, and were the one faith-based organisation to fund ARLPI in their activities.<sup>72</sup> On first inspection CORDs work was not overtly engaged with faith communities. However, closer inspection of the work of their partners demonstrated a level of 'unintentional' faith engagement. In contexts where faith is normative it is possible that there are these 'unintentional' links with faith and faith communities, and consequently there may be further unevidenced faith-based peacebuilding activities being undertaken.

## **4.2 Theoretical Observations**

In Chapter One I outlined many of the challenges that face FBDOs engaged in peacebuilding. Many of these challenges were around an absence of appropriate resources for undertaking faith-based peacebuilding. It is clear that faith-based peacebuilding does occur, in a limited manner where faith is normative. However, given appropriate tools, resources and capacity development faith-based peacebuilding could become a more visible and successful component of peacebuilding in areas where faith is normative.

At present the approach to inter-faith peacebuilding appears to be ad hoc. Organisations appear to use the links they have, but with limited means for developing further links or expanding the reach of their activity. A theoretical approach to inter-faith peacebuilding would significantly assist the work of faith-based organisations engaging in peacebuilding. A theoretical approach would enable local FBDOs and INGOs to appropriately engage with faith through their peacebuilding activities, and assist them in developing their peacebuilding role within the conflict context.

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<sup>72</sup> Respondent 7, personal interview, 2010.

### 4.2.1 Framework for Faith-Based Engagement

From these case studies and literature I have designed a basic theoretical framework for faith-based involvement by FBDO's, which could be used to further develop a more systematic theoretical approach to inter-faith activity. From such a framework it could then be possible to explore more fully the structure of any practice guidelines for inter-faith activity. This basic theoretical framework is similar in concept to the work of Anderson (1999) as she outlined the 'Do No Harm' philosophy of humanitarian and development intervention and mirrors the different levels of engagement, though it focuses specifically upon engaging with faith communities and the factors that promote peace or conflict in a faith context. I suggest the following levels of engagement:

- 1) 'Do No Harm in a faith context': this implies a simple acknowledgement of the faith context in which the FBDO is operating. It involves recognising the value of other faith practices for their adherents. Traditional reconciliation and cleansing practices in Northern Uganda were described as 'satanic' by one FBDO; this would not follow a 'do no harm' approach to working in a faith context. A 'Do No Harm' approach seeks not to promote or provoke any faith-based motivation toward violence. This level of faith engagement implies that development and peacebuilding activities do not exacerbate tensions and dividers that exist in the community.
- 2) 'Working 'in' a faith context': this implies recognition of other faith practices and a positive endorsement of the benefit of such spirituality that includes a peace ethic, or a move toward reconciliation or cleansing. It does not necessarily include working with faith leaders, but acknowledging the importance faith plays in the psycho-social welfare and development of communities. This level of faith engagement implies that activities seek to strengthen the links and connectors that exist within and between faith communities.
- 3) 'Working 'on' a faith context': this implies working with available faith leaders to enhance the power of the peace ethic that is represented in their traditions. This includes the use of faith ideals to support human rights initiatives, and local traditional practices which support concepts of peace, justice, reconciliation and forgiveness. This level of faith engagement seeks not only to strengthen links and connectors that exist, but also to develop new connectors and links without exacerbating tensions and dividers.



FBDO's seeking to be involved in peacebuilding activities in a faith-context can place themselves appropriately in this framework depending upon their theological backgrounds, resources and grassroots connections. This enables FBDO's to work in countries where faith is a normative part of cultural practice without exacerbating divisions that may exist within society along religious lines, if they are currently working in a conflict sensitive manner. However, these three categories all need further analysis and definition to provide a more systematic theoretical framework for engaging in inter-faith activity, and to inform FBDO practice in conflict settings.

Frameworks as a tool have been round for many years within development circles. The logical framework for project design and implementation is one such example. It is used regularly by development practitioners in assisting them with designing interventions, as well as being mandatory amongst many donors who want to see the project logic explained in a coherent manner. Such frameworks have a number of pitfalls, especially with regard to 'soft' programming, in which projects seek to bring about social change, yet they remain a useful tool nonetheless and are often part of project management cycles (Neufeldt 2006).

Anderson, when designing her framework for development organisations to 'Do No Harm', made the following comments about the use of frameworks (1999: 75):

A framework tool does three things. First, it identifies the categories of information that have been found to be the most important in affecting the way aid interacts with conflict. Second, it organises that information. Third, it highlights relationships among the categories and allows one to anticipate likely outcomes of alternative programming decisions. This facilitates an assessment of whether the anticipated impact is the best one available and if not allows an examination of options and alternatives to improve the impact.

A framework does not prescribe actions. It does not interpret events and factors for aid workers. It does not tell them what to do. This tool as with all tools depends on its users' skill for its effect. But as is also true of all tools, a skilled worker can do better work with a good tool than without it.

To overcome the challenges that an FBDO faces to engage in faith-based peacebuilding I believe that a theoretical framework would assist, and that this framework could then be used to develop appropriate tools to enable appropriate peacebuilding interventions.

## 5.0 Conclusion

In this Chapter I have sought to examine in closer detail the peacebuilding and development activities of two faith-based organisations in Gulu and Kitgum in Northern Uganda. In so doing I have sought to address the research question: How do two specific Faith-Based Organisations in Uganda relate to issues of faith and religion in the conflict context in which they are sited; what roles have they taken as peacebuilders within this context and how has this related to faith and religion? The case studies have contributed to meeting the objectives of the research which were: To increase understanding of transferable principles of faith-based peacebuilding from specific case studies; and to increase understanding of local perspectives on change and peacebuilding in a faith context.

I have also examined the broader NGO context of faith and peacebuilding in greater detail to analyse the normative nature of faith and peacebuilding. I have examined the peacebuilding role of the organisations involved and their level of engagement with faith in this context. From the case studies and the mapping exercise it is apparent that faith-based peacebuilding experience a number of barriers. These barriers include:

- a) Faith-based peacebuilding is not recognised as a legitimate means of peacebuilding.
- b) Limited co-ordination of faith-based peacebuilding initiatives.
- c) Only 6 organisations having a peacebuilding role as part of their peacebuilding activities.
- d) Limited resources.
- e) Limited inter-faith activity.

Despite these barriers being present some engagement with faith can be identified, and faith can be seen as a legitimate means to engage with partner communities on development and peacebuilding issues. This research confirms that FBDOs have the potential to undertake context-specific faith-based peacebuilding in areas where faith has been a component of the conflict. Within the conflict context of Northern Uganda there exist many of the precursors for faith-based peacebuilding to occur. This includes a context where faith is normative; where there are faith-leaders who can be motivated to support peacebuilding activity; and where faith has been a component in the escalation of violence.

These cases illustrate my conceptual framework on interventions, ranging from: Do No Harm; to Working 'in' a faith context; and to Working 'on' a faith context. This intervention framework could be further examined and developed, along with the different principles of engagement, to assist in the formation of a systematic theoretical framework for FBDO's working in post-conflict areas where faith is normative. This theory could then inform practical inter-faith activity by FBDOs. In Chapter Six I will briefly outline a potential theoretical framework and subsequent tools which could be useful in assisting FBDOs in faith-based peacebuilding.

## Chapter Six: A Theoretical Framework for Faith-Based Peacebuilding

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### 1.0 Introduction:

In Chapters 1 – 3 I complete the research aim to: analyse and critique existing theories and practice of peacebuilding with regard to FBDOs and inter-faith peacebuilding activity. I have shown that although there is a large amount of literature about conflict sensitivity and peacebuilding for development organisations there is limited material specifically relating to FBDOs, or addressing the subject of how FBDOs should approach inter-faith peacebuilding. Chapter Four and Five achieved my second and third research aims: to increase understanding of transferable principles of faith-based peacebuilding from specific case studies. To increase understanding of local perspectives on change and peacebuilding in a faith context I undertook evaluation research of the work of CORD and ARLPI in Northern Uganda. The research consisted of desk and web-based research, and of a series of field interviews. In addition I conducted a mapping exercise of local and international NGOs working in peace and conflict resolution in the Gulu and Kitgum area to gain a greater understanding of the extent of the normative nature of faith-based peacebuilding in this context.

The desk and web-based research alongside the personal interviews and field research gave a greater understanding of the role of FBDOs in peacebuilding activity, and the difficulties they experience, along with limited observable impact at grassroots level of faith-based peacebuilding initiatives by the identifiable FBDOs in the mapping exercise. The research identifies the need for a theoretical framework and gives the basis for such a framework for FBDOs engaged in inter-faith peacebuilding. In this Chapter I now seek to achieve my fourth and fifth research aims: To develop theoretical principles for engaging in inter-faith peacebuilding; and to examine theoretical and practical difficulties and advantages in developing a toolkit for FBDOs. Thus I also meet my research aims of strengthening analysis of conflict-sensitive approaches to inter-faith peacebuilding; and to develop a theoretical framework of reference for FBDOs working on inter-faith peacebuilding.

### 2.0 Developing a Framework

In Chapter five I outlined the definitions of 'Do No Harm', 'working in a faith environment' and 'working on a faith environment' based on Anderson's theory of Do No Harm (Anderson 1999). Utilising her analysis of 'Tensions and Dividers' and 'Connectors and local capacities for Peace' I outlined a definition for modes of faith engagement in a post-conflict setting where faith is normative. These can be represented in fig 6.1

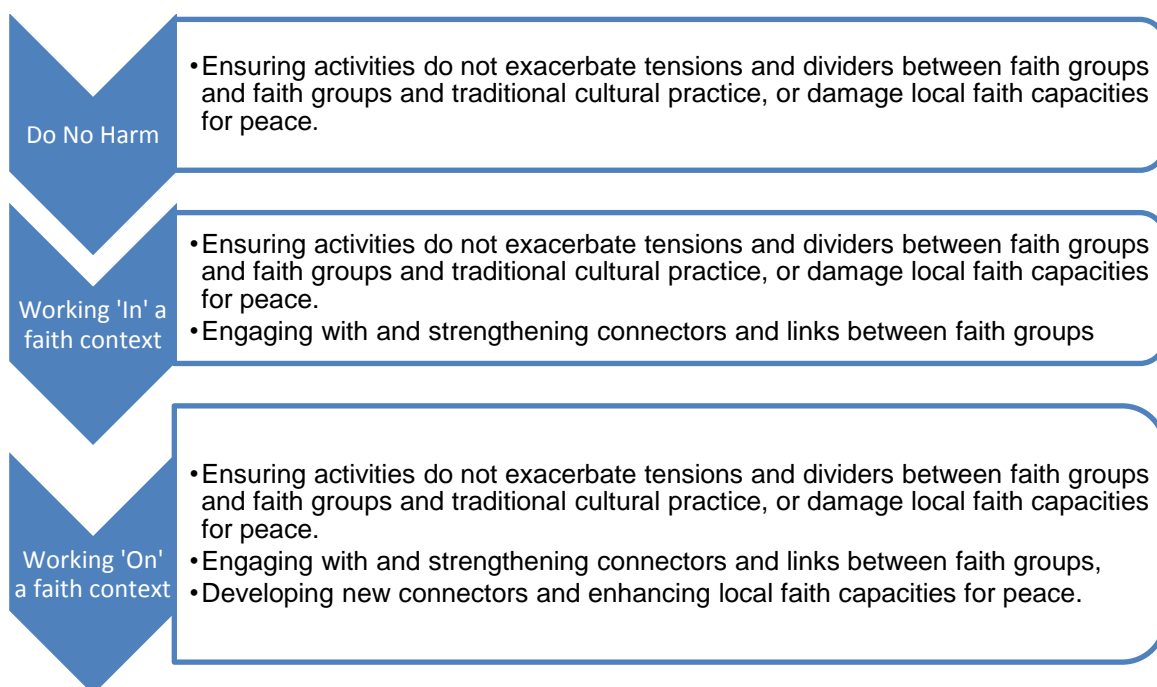


Figure 6.1: Definitions of Increasing Levels of Faith Engagement

Here I provide illustrations of these definitions. As shown in the case study ARLPI emphasized the different areas of connection between all the faith groups. All communities in the affected areas of Northern Uganda felt disenfranchised by the 'Southern' Government and felt that they did not have access to power and resources. They all were dependent upon farming for their livelihoods and this had been taken from them as they had to live in IDP camps due to the violent conflict. Every person had the same shared experience of witnessing atrocities and living in fear of abduction, death or torture. ARLPI took these connectors and took the stance that all people, regardless of faith background were suffering as a result of the ongoing conflict. ARLPI advocated for the people of Acholi and for an end to the violence and the human rights abuses.<sup>73</sup> ARLPI highlighted the attitudes that were prevalent in all the different faith backgrounds, which is that they wanted the violence to end, and to be able to live in peace. In addition an inter-faith network was established through the work of the different faith leaders within Acholiland, which was formalised in the formation of ARLPI. This group established a new set of relationships between different faith leaders as they mobilised around ending the violence, thus establishing new connectors. In this regard ARLPI were working 'on' faith in a conflict setting.

CORD chose partner organisations that prioritised livelihoods, trade and education. These were connectors that linked people of different faith backgrounds as all had been impacted by the conflict. Although CORD did not explicitly plan to strengthen these connections between people of different faith

<sup>73</sup> Interviews, 2010, Respondents 7 and 8

backgrounds, their partner organisations, who were working with people in this varied faith context did in fact strengthen these connections through trade, livelihoods and education. The connections already existed, but through the work of the partner organisations these linkages were strengthened. CORD partners were also intentionally supportive of symbols and occasions that brought about reconciliation and re-integration within the community across faith backgrounds.<sup>74</sup> Thus through the partner organisations CORD was working 'in' a faith context in a conflict situation. No new connectors were established, but existing connectors were supported and no connectors were damaged.

Faith engagement is more than just using religious texts to promote a peace ethic, although study of texts could be a component of the activity. It is about actively working with people of faith; congregations, leaders, and organisations, and protecting connectors across these groups, or establishing such connectors. The level of faith engagement depends upon the organisations activity with relationship to the dividers and connectors that exist. The protection of these connectors and the formation of new connectors could also be described as developing 'bridging social capital' between different social groups, which acts to reduce the likelihood of violent conflict between linked groups (Goodhand 2006: 40) as discussed in Chapter Two.

Where organisations locate themselves upon this scale of increasing faith engagement will depend upon their capacity to engage with faith issues, their links with faith communities, and their skills and abilities to engage with faith leaders on issues of faith and peace building, as well as their organisational capacity to undertake development work with peacebuilding impacts. ARLPI would be able to place itself as working 'on' a faith context due to their capacity to engage on faith issues, the links that they have with faith communities, and their ability to organise around these issues. Although ARLPI have been criticised for lack of organisational development (Ginifer 2006: 26), in my opinion this has not impacted the aims of their work around working with faith leaders and their congregations to work for peace. CORD would be able to locate itself as working 'in' a faith context due to its approach of working with local partners who are able to engage meaningfully with the faith and cultural context of partner communities. If CORD were not working with partner communities this might impact its ability to locate itself on the framework at working 'in' a faith context if it did not use suitable local staff in its project activities, as understanding of the local communities 'primary language' with regard to faith is essential for undertaking peacebuilding activities (Bouta, Kadayifichi-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005: 11). Although it was not clear whether FAPAD was an FBDO or not, it did engage with faith communities as did EPPOVHA, although it was not possible to be clear whether they were working 'on' or 'in' a faith environment.

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<sup>74</sup> Interviews, 2010, Respondents 17 and 11

Having established a set of clear definitions for the three different levels of faith engagement, it is then essential to link faith engagement with the other necessary components of development and peacebuilding activity, and to discern the principles by which these relate together. It is this relational aspect of the components which will give the framework structure and form; will guide FBDOs in the framework's proper use; and enable FBDOs to place themselves at an appropriate level of faith engagement in relation to all the components that need to be considered. Assessing a conflict context with regard to dividers and tensions will enable FBDOs to identify potential areas for undertaking development activities. It is also important to clarify that to 'Do No Harm' involves an active engagement with the factors that cause division and tension, i.e. the organisations seek to reduce the divisions and tensions, but that the organisation's activities do not exacerbate those divisions and tensions.

## **2.1 Additional Framework Components**

### **2.1.1 Service Delivery**

Further assessment is essential for appropriate development activities with peacebuilding outcomes to be identified that are appropriate for the context and for the organisation. Development organisations, whether faith-based or secular, enable the delivery of services to people and communities which otherwise would not receive them. In seeking to provide services in a development context NGOs both international and local apply for funding from donor sources to implement the projects they have designed. Many donors such as the EU or DfID prioritise the provision of services that meet the UN's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which are currently set to run until 2015. However, donors are keen to ensure that these activities also have peacebuilding impacts, and so NGOs undertaking development activities seek to include a peacebuilding component in their development activities to gain access to this funding.

As stated in Chapter Two, the Joint Utstein Report highlights a palette of development activities that lead to 'peacebuilding'. This palette includes a variety of activities ranging from grassroots to state-building (Smith 2004: 4). At first glance it appears that any activity which features on this palette that is undertaken by an organisation could be construed as a peacebuilding activity. However, the full report does emphasise the need to undertake all these activities in a conflict-sensitive manner, and lists service delivery under the traditional headings of socio-economic changes. These would usually include areas such as education, health, agricultural development, livelihoods and other activities that relate to socio-economic development for partner communities. Development organisations working at a grassroots level strive to bring socio-economic changes to communities and grassroots organisations, and there are a number of approaches that NGOs might take in their project interventions. Organisations vary in their terminology for these activities. They include expressions such as 'empowerment', 'partnership' and other

participatory phrases. The preferred terminology will depend upon the analysis and the approach each organisation takes to developing their project activities.

To enable project design and implementation of socio-economic interventions NGOs use a variety of different analytical approaches for development activities, which include: political and cultural pluralism; human rights approaches; peace and tolerance; and social justice and communal solidarity. These approaches to intervention and development activity provide the basis for project design and implementation, and these approaches underline the 'physical input' to be undertaken, whichever socio-economic activity this may be. I outline these different analytical approaches below.

### **2.1.1.1 Human Rights Approaches**

The human rights discourse can be viewed as problematic amongst some partner communities who see human rights as a liberal idea of the global north. However, faith groups generally accept that it is not being an adherent of a particular faith group which bestows humanity upon us, but that it is the fact of being human. This enables a discussion to take place between different faith groups around the issues of human rights (Appleby 2000: 263). An-Na'im (2012) comments that local communities should be empowered to defend their own human rights and not merely be reliant on international governmental pressure, which suggests that both international and local organisations working with partner communities can work to enable access to human rights through development initiatives by supporting appropriate local agents of change. ARLPI had sought to protect the human rights of their congregations in the original representations to the Government of Uganda during the conflict with the LRA. Additionally to this ARLPI demonstrated this use of the human rights discourse in their work on sexual and gender-based violence, by working with the legal authorities and giving this public legislation moral sanction.

### **2.1.1.2 Cultural and Political Pluralism**

A human rights-based approach is not the only analytical tool for service delivery which leads to socio-economic change and support a peacebuilding agenda. Many Western donors and organisations are now prioritising political pluralism as well as individual rights.<sup>75</sup> In choosing to focus on political pluralism donor organisations are seeking to encourage local CSOs to engage in political activity, hold government to account, and to promote democratic processes. Again, democracy is perceived as a liberal concept of the global north and in many countries of the world other forms of government are practiced, and 'political pluralism' is resisted. Said and Funk comment that from an Islamic perspective approaches that support cultural pluralism, rather than political pluralism, are key to working within a Muslim context (Said and Funk

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<sup>75</sup> National Endowment for Democracy (NED), Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO)



2002: 43). The global north perspective seeks to pursue democracy to grassroots levels enabling empowerment of communities. The perspective of cultural pluralism seeks to bring tolerance of difference to grassroots levels. Although political pluralism and cultural pluralism are not the same, they are complementary in that they allow for participation and access to resources for all community members, and in so doing enable the community to be more cohesive and supportive of each other. Although it would seem that a human rights-based approach to development may help with some peacebuilding project interventions, it is insufficient in all contexts. Consequently I combine cultural and political pluralism as one component of analysis for this theoretical framework alongside human rights.

### **2.1.1.3 Social Justice and Communal Solidarity**

In addition to the cultural pluralism, Said and Funk comment that the concepts of communal solidarity and social justice are also important within a Muslim context (Said and Funk 2002: 43). The perspectives of communal solidarity and social justice seek to bring equity, tolerance and fairness to grassroots levels. Social justice and communal solidarity differ both from a human rights analytical framework, and a framework of pluralism. However, they contribute to participation and cohesion within communities and although distinct from pluralism the concepts are linked.

For example, the UN and EU, although supporting activities that would contribute to the Millennium Development Goals, also ask projects to include elements that allow marginalised groups to access services and take part in participatory processes. This approach encourages cultural pluralism, as well as addressing issues of social justice and communal solidarity. Social justice and communal solidarity has the potential to support the rights and encourage the aspirations of particular groups within society, which could contribute to the establishment of cultural and political pluralism. KITWOBEE through its livelihood activities empowered women, who are not traditionally beekeepers in Uganda society, to begin beekeeping and to develop a livelihood in this area. Working as a mixed group of women they were able to support each other, develop their skills, improve their livelihoods and contribute to communal solidarity. By allowing men to become associate members they were able to support female members of their families, and to develop links with other beekeepers. This is not political pluralism per se, but this development of communal solidarity contributes to an acceptance of groups undertaking activities that might not traditionally be considered appropriate for them, which could lead to an acceptance of women undertaking other less traditional roles.

Social justice and communal solidarity can also work together, as the need for justice for different groups within a community is recognised, and as a community works together to achieve this justice, then this can

work to promote communal solidarity<sup>76</sup>. Said and Funk describe this as 'communal cooperation in the conscious pursuit of values' (2002: 43).

#### **2.1.1.4 Peace and Tolerance**

An additional analytical approach for socio-economic development could be the implementation of those activities that contribute to peace and tolerance. This approach again has the defined 'soft programming' impact which seeks to establish a more peaceful and tolerant society. It is similar to communal solidarity and communal pluralism in some respects, but would have a much clearer 'peace' agenda. Such interventions could include production of appropriate peacebuilding education materials for schools, which combine the development activity of education with that of peacebuilding (Funk 2007: 1). Or, project interventions may include a series of dialogues and mediations over a disputed resource, alongside a development activity that increases access to that resource.

These approaches to service delivery are an important component of the peacebuilding activity as they will in part dictate the peacebuilding role that the FBDO will be able to undertake. Consequently it is essential to include approach to service delivery as a component on any theoretical framework for faith-based peacebuilding.

#### **2.1.2 Role of Peacebuilders**

In Chapter One I outlined some of the appropriate roles that faith-based peacebuilders could undertake and used these roles to analyse the peacebuilding impact that local and international organisations in Gulu and Kitgum have undertaken as part of their peace and conflict resolution activity. These peacebuilding roles include: Facilitating, monitoring/observing, advocating, mediating, socialisation, inter-faith cohesion and protecting. Delivering services through development activities could be a means to a peacebuilding end, but according to Paffenholz it is not a peacebuilding end in itself (Paffenholz 2008: 5). This renaming of development activities as 'peacebuilding' in their own right has been an issue for some NGOs which have struggled with the change of priorities in their work. However, according to Paffenholz for service delivery or socio-economic development activity to contribute to peacebuilding activity, it requires that those undertaking the activity engage in one of these peacebuilding roles. Consequently the peacebuilding role of the faith actor needs to be a component of any theoretical framework of intervention.

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<sup>76</sup> EU 'calls for proposals' ask for proposals to clarify participation for women, children and marginalised groups as a matter of course. Proposals are weighted according to the attention given to these groupings

## 2.2 Framework Development

Using the categories outlined above I have designed a framework to assist FBDO's to engage with people of faith on development activities that have a direct and indirect peacebuilding impact. The overarching category which underpins any intervention is the conflict context, and all subsequent analyses are dependent upon this initial analysis. The conflict context must include a full analysis of the tensions/dividers and connectors that exist as outlined previously. In addition the analysis of these dividers and connectors must centre on the faith context in which they are established, and identify where these could exacerbate conflict and division between faith congregations, and where they could strengthen links between people of different faith backgrounds. This analysis remains important even if, as in the case of Northern Uganda, the conflict was not between people of different faith groups, but where religious rhetoric has been used to promote violence. Or, where there are faith leaders from different congregations who can be mobilised to work together on peacebuilding as in the case of ARLPI.

The second component of the framework is the level of faith engagement, as defined earlier, these levels of faith engagement are crucially linked to the faith dividers/tensions and the faith connectors/ local faith capacities for peace. The minimum requirement for any organisation, whether secular or faith-based, is 'Do No Harm', but FBDOs are able to decide where it is appropriate to locate themselves upon this increasing scale of faith engagement.

The third component of the framework is the role of service delivery, the traditional socio-economic development activities, whatever these may be called by the FBDO. Appropriate analytical approaches for socio-economic activities would be: cultural and political pluralism; human rights-based approaches; peace and tolerance; and communal solidarity and social justice. These approaches to intervention and development activity are the next category for our framework of engagement. These relate to those faith dividers/tensions and to the faith connectors/local capacities for peace in that these activities should be drawn from the processes that will strengthen local faith capacities for peace, and not exacerbate those processes that divide or cause tension between faith communities. For example; where trade and commerce takes place across faith dividers, then projects could work to support these markets and the links that already exist, or endeavour to develop new links in this area. KITWOBEE in developing its livelihood activities for women brought together women of different faith backgrounds, thus strengthening links between faith groups that already existed.

The final component of the framework is the peacebuilding role to be utilised. If, as Paffenholz writes, service delivery in and of itself does not contribute to peacebuilding unless it enables actors to engage in one of the peacebuilding roles. Then these roles of facilitation, monitoring/observing, advocate,

socialisation, inter-faith cohesion, protection, and mediation are intrinsic to programming interventions for peacebuilding impacts.

These categories sit within each other as a nested Venn diagram and demonstrate the importance of the outer context on the inner category (Fig 6.2).

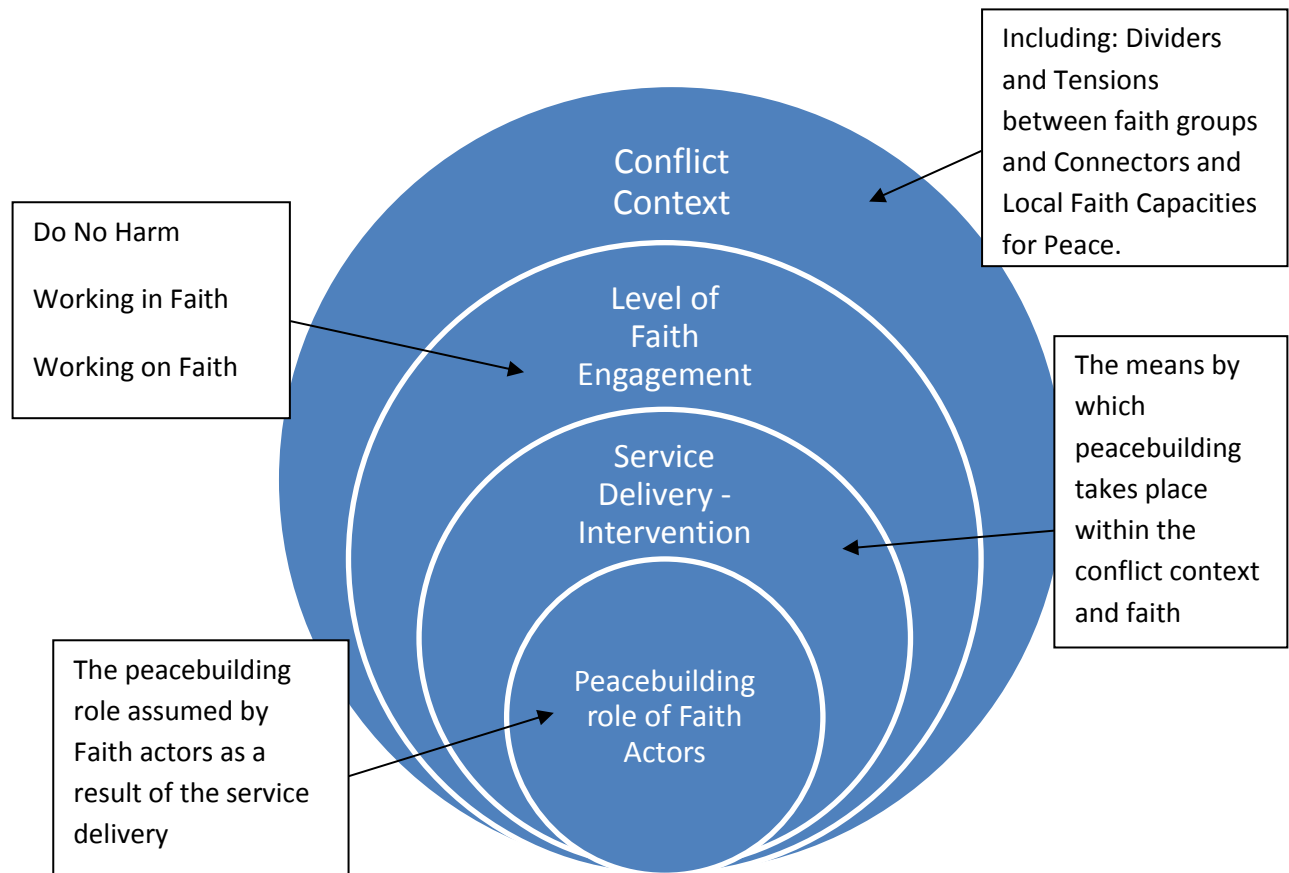
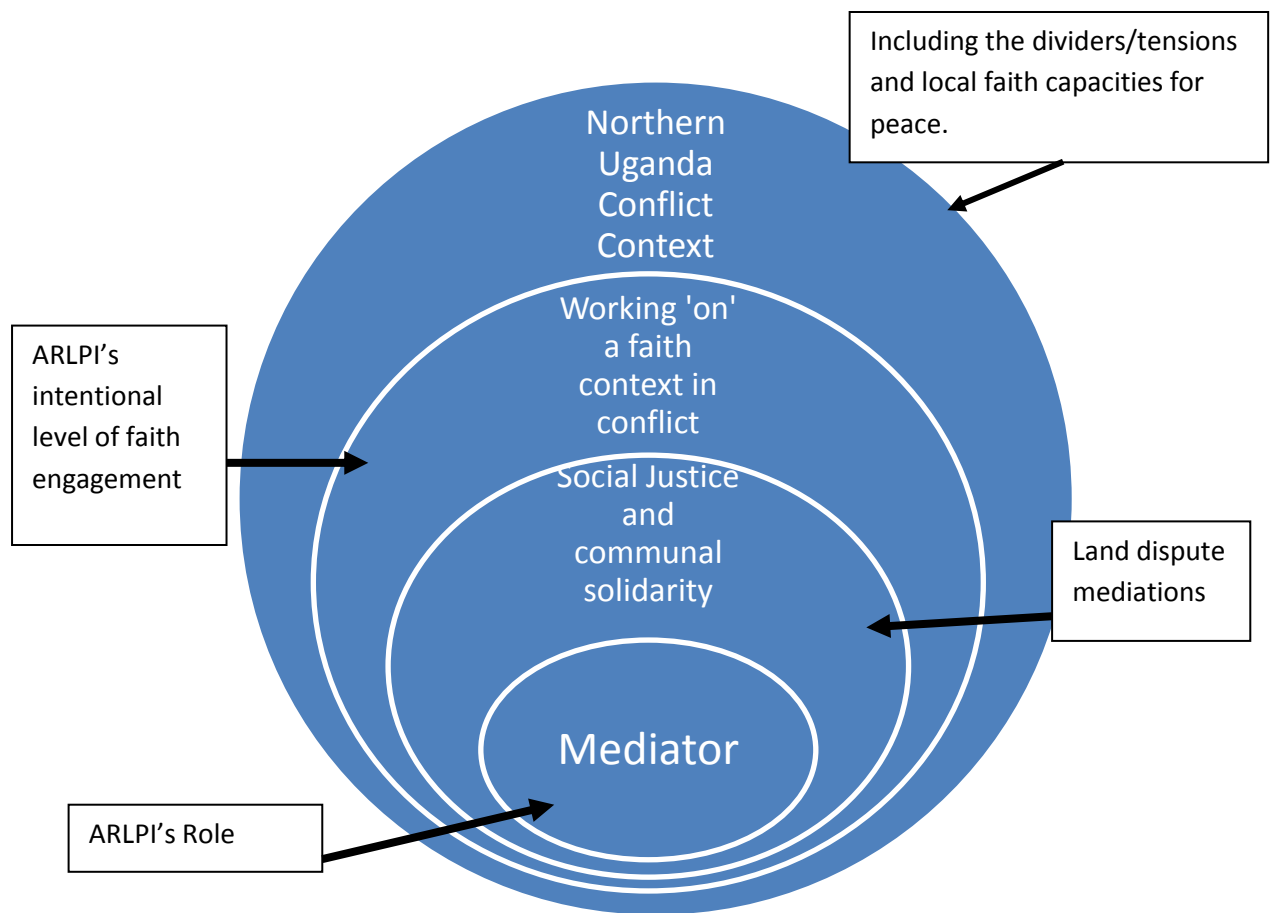


Fig 6.2 Framework for Faith Engagement Categories

To put this into a practical context we could include the work of ARLPI and CORD within this model, thus the framework categories for ARLPI would be represented in this manner: (fig 6.3)



### 6.3 ARLPI's Intervention as It Relates to the Framework for Faith Engagement

From this figure we can see that within the conflict context of Northern Uganda ARLPI was able to work 'on' the faith context in a conflict setting through the lens of social justice and communal solidarity, and in this work they took the peacebuilding role of mediator.

Correspondingly the Venn diagram showing CORD's intervention would appear thus (fig 6.4)

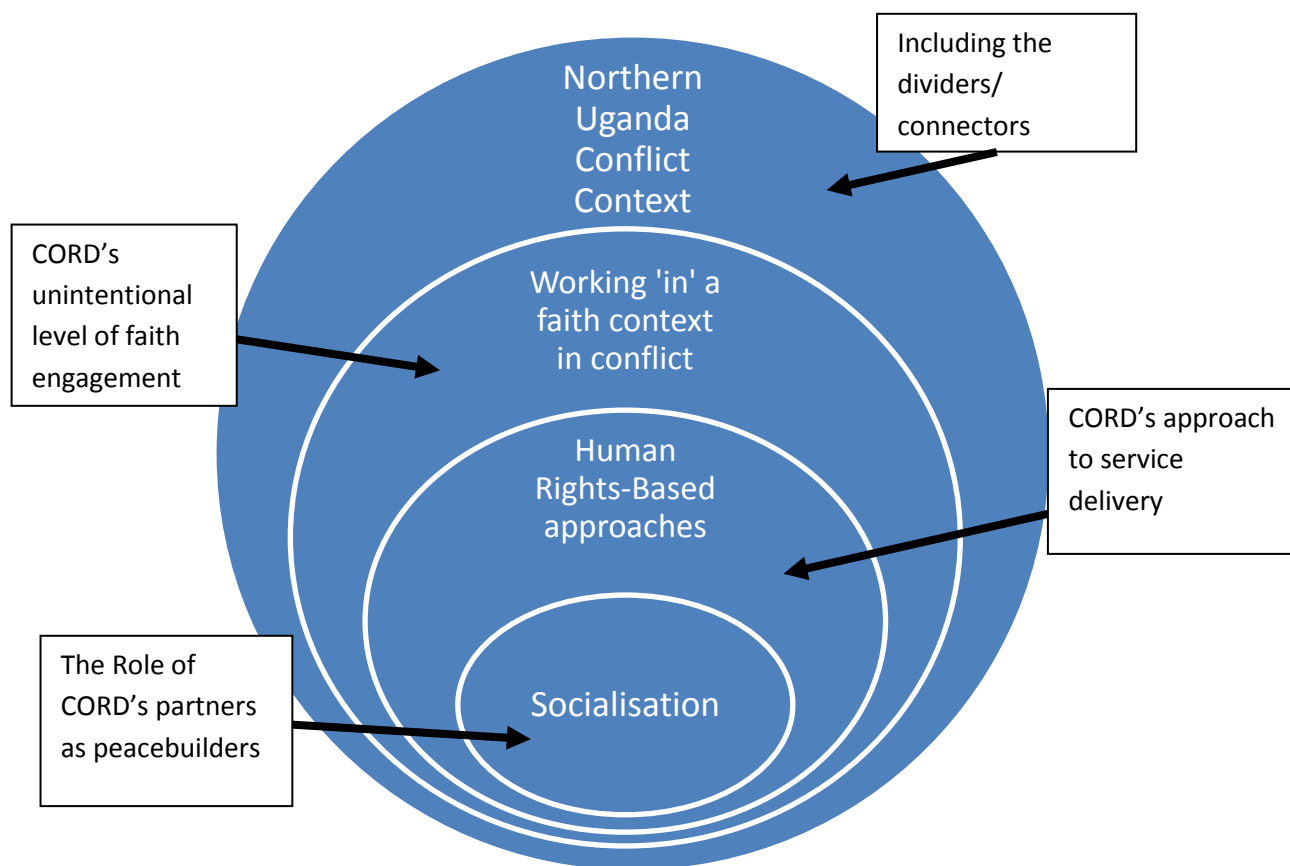


Fig 6.4 CORD's Intervention as it Relates to the Framework for Faith Engagement

In this figure we can see that CORD undertook its activities within the conflict context of Northern Uganda, they were able to work 'in' a faith context in a conflict setting through the work of their local partners and using a human rights-based approach to their development activities they took the peacebuilding role of socialisation.

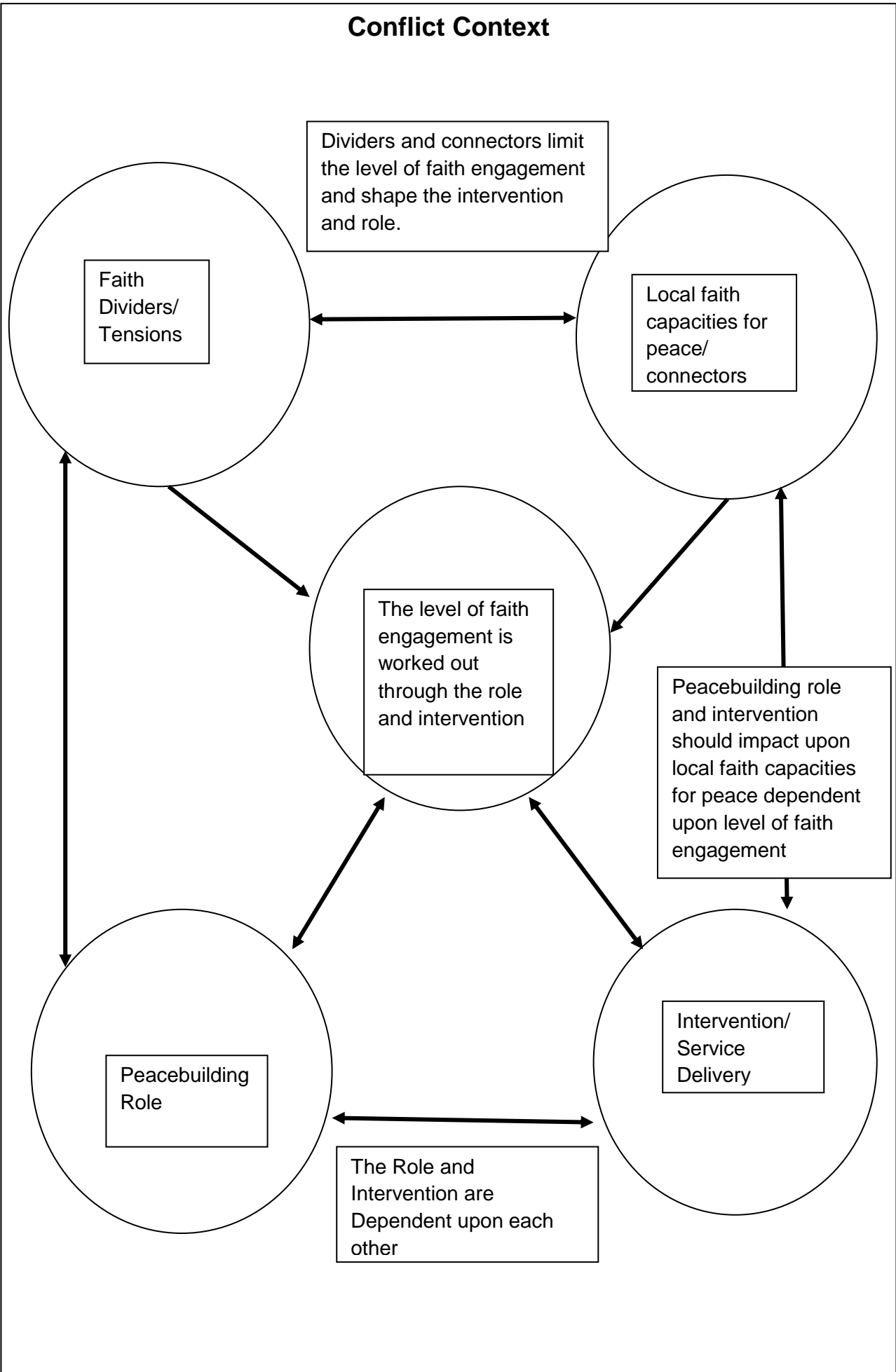
### 2.2.1 Relationships Within the Framework

Having identified the categories that are relevant to the framework, it is essential to draw them together relationally and to demonstrate the flow of information and analysis between each category. Although they sit within a nested Venn diagram the categories are not hierarchical, although one category leads toward the other the relationship between them is dynamic and fluid. Should one category change, than this change impacts upon every category in the framework and it may be necessary to redesign the project accordingly. In the following figure I have attempted to draw all the categories into the framework and to represent the relationships between them. A fundamental point is that the level of faith engagement underpins the project design, and consequently the service delivery and peacebuilding role. Equally, this

level of faith engagement may be limited by the connectors/local faith capacities for peace and the faith dividers/tensions along with the capacity of the FBDO to undertake different interventions and to take different peacebuilding roles. KITWOBEE for example did not have the capacity to work as mediators in a dispute, but did have the capacity, along with IYEP, to work in the area of socialisation through their livelihood activities.

All of these categories are crucial for conflict-sensitive development activities with a peacebuilding impact, but the thrust of this framework is to highlight a theoretical approach to engaging with the faith component of this project intervention, and to enable FBDOs to engage in an intentional manner in faith-based and inter-faith peacebuilding. For a FBDO to engage in faith-based peacebuilding a particular lens needs to be utilised highlighting faith issues and faith actors. It is this analytical refinement that enables a realistic and appropriate engagement with local faith communities and actors seeking to promote peace. The different relationships of the components to each other are demonstrated in fig 6.5.

Fig 6.5 Framework for Faith Engagement





The framework does not seek to tell FBDOs what they should do, but to organise the categories of information that are essential for good programming, and to demonstrate how these relate to each other. Changes in any of these categories could lead to a redesign of the project intervention depending upon the impact that this has upon the other categories. If the project intervention is seen to be having a negative impact upon either dividers/tensions or it is affecting links and connectors adversely then it is essential that the project is redesigned immediately to counteract this. If the intervention is unsuccessful with regards to its impact upon the faith context and thus having an adverse impact upon links/connectors or tensions/dividers it may be necessary for the FBDO to reposition itself accordingly. Equally, if the project is having a positive impact upon the links and connectors that already exist, the intervention could be further altered to develop new links and connectors, thus elevating the FBDO in the scale of faith engagement.

### **3.0 Developing a Toolkit**

The use of tools within development circles is a widely accepted practice, even though the usefulness of these tools, and the theories behind them, is sometimes questioned. The main critique of the wholesale use of tools across a wide variety of organisations is that often individual organisations do not have the capacity to use the tools appropriately. Furthermore the tool that is being used is not appropriate for the circumstances in which the organisation is operating (De Zeeuw 2001: 6). Shapiro comments that often the tools have an underlying 'theory of change' attached to their use, and that these theories of change are not readily transferable to different conflict contexts. Consequently if the underlying theory of change is relevant to a different local context then the tool is 'useful', if however, the underlying theory is not relevant to the different context then the tool is rendered 'useless' (2006: 6). Academics have commented that a lack of theories in the field has inhibited learning about aid, development and peacebuilding over the past decades, as practitioners engage in development activities without a clear theory or understanding of why the activities they undertake bring about an improvement in socio-economic development and contribute to peacebuilding, whether at a local/community level, or on the larger-scale at regional or national level. In contrast those tools which are underpinned by the theories at least allow the potential for organisational learning, and a reasoned and fully assessed approach to the work that is being undertaken. These tools allow for the better application of theory, structure, and process in development activities (Barbolet et al. 2005b: 3). I have developed a theory of inter-faith engagement which I believe is transferable between situations because it is dependent upon the organisations analysis of the conflict context and their own organisational capacity to act in a variety of roles to produce socio-economic change, rather than a rigid structure of intervention. Further research would be necessary to evaluate its applicability across contexts.

In considering the development of a toolkit to assist FBDOs it is essential not to increase the confusion that may already exist. However, none of the existing tools include a detailed analysis of faith and faith congregations, and so any appropriate toolkit would need to assess the impact of faith in greater depth upon the promotion of peace and conflict. Many of these assessment tools refer to community and religious leaders in the analysis of a conflict context, but analysis of faith communities and the links or dividers between them is not explicit. Thus any toolkit would need to include specific sections to enable a more detailed examination of the faith context within a conflict and in this way refine existing assessment tools, rather than re-inventing a tool. As the majority of tools and toolkits comprise a list of questions that need to be answered then this refining can be as straightforward as an additional list of questions for organisations to consider in their research and design process. Many organisations using toolkits where faith is normative will be having the basis of many of these discussions already, however the faith component of these discussions may not be highlighted by the organisation, or the organisation may feel anxious about addressing issues of faith in a conflict context (Moberg, Hunsicker and Walker 2009: 3).

These issues of working within varied and different conflict and post-conflict contexts, working within complex systems that do not respond well to simple logical interpretation, and the local understanding of the factors that lead to violence or push towards peace, all contribute to the challenges that face the development of any tool or toolkit and therefore any toolkit which aims to assist organisations in their conflict sensitivity needs to have an 'ethical underpinning' which informs the technical and political aspects of the toolkit (Barbolet et al. 2005b: 2). These ethical issues are arguably more important for FBDOs working in post-conflict areas where religion has been used to promote the use of violence, especially when such organisations may hold unique 'truth' claims for their own faith system. In addition as stated earlier, a second challenge facing some FBDOs is their lack of investment and experience in these areas. Consequently, the need for a theoretical and ethical approach with associated tools is essential to assist them in their organisational learning and in the design and implementation of socio-economic activities with peacebuilding impacts.

In looking at issues of inter-faith peacebuilding, it is the faith capacities component of the FBDOs assessment which is crucial, and this component of the assessment which is limited in most conflict assessments. Anderson includes the role of faith leaders in her assessment of dividers and connectors, and highlights their importance (1999). Although assessment tools make reference to faith and religion within the conflict dynamic, they do not specifically analyse the role of faith in the conflict, or the impact that faith communities have upon peace and conflict. For Inter-faith peacebuilding to occur, this analysis is crucial. It is also essential that it is undertaken with local faith actors, and these actors should be both those who are positive about inter-faith engagement and also those who are not, or the 'hard to reach', as this will give a more accurate analysis of the conflict context. The 'hard to reach' are those members of

different faith congregations who continue to support the use of violence to resolve conflicts, or who seek a complete separation between different faith groups. In this regard they will highlight the dividers that exist between these groups. However talking to those who are harder to reach might also bring some unexpected connectors into the analysis. The hard to reach groups are unlikely to take part in the development activities; however, their understanding of the conflict situation will be useful. It may even be through this inclusion of the hard to reach in the initial analysis, which begins the process of drawing them into the dialogue. It would certainly be a step toward developing connectors between the groups.

There may be overlap between community and faith leaders in the assessment; however the focus would be slightly different and looking at faith communities. These faith communities may be interspersed, or they may live separately from each other.

CORD in its assessment and analysis was not particularly seeking to work with faith congregations in this context. However, they were aware of the role of groups such as ARLPI in seeking to bring peace into this conflict context of Northern Uganda. ARLPI in their assessment and analysis sought to work with faith congregations, highlighted the areas of commonality between the groups, and also were inclusive of traditional justice and reconciliation mechanisms as a means for bringing forgiveness and harmony to Acholiland. Thus although the conflict was not between different faith groups per se, ARLPI were aware of the 'spiritual' dynamic of the Lord's Resistance Army and Kony's use of religious rhetoric to motivate and inspire his soldiers. ARLPI also endeavoured to counteract this rhetoric with their own messages which highlighted peace, forgiveness and harmony (Lukwiya Ochola 2006: 145).

According to the mapping exercise few local NGOs were engaging with faith, although it may have been possible for them to use the links and connections that existed within the organisation to develop this capacity. All of the organisations came from that faith context and consequently all had some capacity to engage with the communities of faith in which they were located.

## 4.0 Conclusion

The framework for faith engagement gives FBDOs a theoretical approach to guide inter-faith peacebuilding activities. The framework does not aim to direct organisations as to the activities that they undertake, but seeks to guide organisations with regard to the factors that are relevant for inter-faith peacebuilding to occur. A toolkit based on this approach however, would need to be much more explicit and directive to assist organisations as they seek to develop their inter-faith peacebuilding activities, and I have developed such a toolkit which can be found in Appendix Three. Tools and toolkits are abundant in the peacebuilding field, yet they are not always helpful, appropriate or applicable to the organisation or the conflict context (De Zeeuw 2001: 6). Toolkits can be useful to organisations, but only if used with skill, and

are flexible enough to cover a variety of situations. This need for flexibility and contextualisation is a major challenge for any toolkit but can be surmounted through the close working partnership of the organisation with its community partners and stakeholders. It is only through working in the most inclusive and participatory manner in every stage of project analysis, assessment, design, implementation, evaluation and monitoring will the tools in a toolkit be useful (Bush 2005b: 8). Evidence also suggests that organisations should feel able to amend and change the tool as it fits their contexts and their capacities without reinventing the wheel (Barbolet et al. 2005b: 2).

The use of a toolkit is further complicated by the different capacities that organisations bring to the field. Many international NGOs may have greater capacity to use the tool, but their capacity to work closely with local communities is less well developed than local NGOs and civil society. This may suggest that a variety of tools are essential which would cover a range of skills and abilities for different organisations to use. However, this doesn't alter the fact that the analysis, assessment and participatory nature of every stage of project research and design are essential to a successful peacebuilding initiative.

The challenge of developing a toolkit for faith-based organisations is one where the ethos of using the tools can be imparted to enable organisations not only to use the tools, but to learn and grow in the manner in which they use the tools. This will depend upon the organisational capacity of those involved. Such a toolkit presents challenges to faith-based organisations in how they view the 'other', which not only includes those of other faiths, but also secular organisations as well. ARLPI found few faith-based organisations willing to work with them because of their inter-faith approach to their peacebuilding. Although CORD were not concerned about ARLPI's inter-faith approach to peacebuilding, CORD chose not to work with ARLPI due to concerns about organisational planning and some theological differences.<sup>77</sup> For faith-based organisations to truly seek to bring inter-faith peacebuilding may require a greater organisational change than originally envisaged. However, FBDOs have moved from traditional 'missionary' activities toward a professionalization of their work in relation to socio-economic development and this will enable the development of peacebuilding activities (Bradley 2009: 111).

In this Chapter I have answered the research question: What theoretical and practical issues need to be considered in the development of a toolkit to assist FBDO's in inter-faith peacebuilding? In answering this question I have met my research aim of strengthening analysis of conflict-sensitive approaches to inter-faith peacebuilding; and have developed a theoretical framework of reference for FBDOs working on inter-faith peacebuilding. From this it is clear that engaging in faith is not purely a mechanistic approach to development and peacebuilding but is a holistic mind-set, which is difficult to encapsulate in a toolkit. Nonetheless there remains merit in using the tools that can be found in a toolkit, and I believe there is

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<sup>77</sup> From Interview with CORD personnel

value in developing the existing tools that are being used to fine tune the faith focus to enable FBDOs to engage with local communities on matters of faith as part of development activities with a peacebuilding impact. Utilising these tools with the framework for engagement would enable organisations to actively consider how to engage meaningfully in inter-faith peacebuilding in areas where faith has been used to justify and promote the use of violence.

## Chapter Seven - Summary and Conclusions

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### 1.0 Summary

Throughout this thesis I have examined the following hypothesis: A theoretical framework of reference for Faith-Based Development Organisations is needed to underpin peacebuilding in conflict and post-conflict environments. Inter-faith peacebuilding through development activities is a role uniquely suited to FBDOs; this role would be enhanced through the establishment of a theoretical framework of reference with regard to appropriate levels of engagement with faith actors. My overall aim was: to strengthen analysis of conflict-sensitive approaches to inter-faith peacebuilding; and to develop a theoretical framework of reference for FBDOs working on inter-faith peacebuilding.

In Chapter One I undertook a detailed analysis of the role of FBDOs in development and peacebuilding, particularly examining the opportunities, challenges and dilemmas that they experienced operating in contexts where faith is normative. In this Chapter I analysed and critiqued existing theories and practice of peacebuilding with regard to FBDOs and inter-faith peacebuilding activity. Chapter One emphasized the point that faith, and men and women of faith, have a key role to play in peacebuilding where faith is a normative part of culture for the following reasons:

- Peacebuilding actors coming from a faith background can bring with them legitimacy and moral authority to the peace message that they are advancing (Bouta, Kadayifci-Orellana and Abu-Nimer 2005).
- FBDOs, due to factors such as longevity and embeddedness, are at times better able to develop close community relationships than counterpart secular organisations (Merry 2000).
- FBDO's are able to engage with faith communities using a shared language of the sacred, and if used appropriately this shared language can lead to an increase in mutual respect and understanding (Smock 2001).
- FBDO's and faith leaders also share a position in society, at the mid-level which enables them access to top-level and grassroots peace activists. To this end FBDOs

have a key role to play in peacebuilding activities where faith has been a component in the violent conflict (Lederach 2005).

However, Chapter One also noted a number of factors that impact the ability of FBDOs to engage in inter-faith peacebuilding activities and contributed significant challenges. These included:

- Limited approaches to faith-based peacebuilding activities through development outputs.
- The need to develop appropriate faith-based peacebuilding roles as part of their development activities.
- The need to develop an ethical approach to inter-faith peacebuilding.
- Few women in positions of authority in FBDOs negatively impacting the organisations peacebuilding potential.
- No identified theoretical approach to faith-based peacebuilding activities.

In Chapter Two I undertook a literature review of relevant research with regards to the role of religion in conflict, peace, peacebuilding; development aid, and conflict-sensitive development practice. In examining the potential negative role of religion in impacting state security, and identity conflicts I postulated a religious conflict theory, taking a constructivist approach to the impact of religion on political conflict. I explored the paradoxical nature of religion in the formation and resolution of violent conflict, examining the ability of each faith to re-examine its own theological roots and to engage with the other in a non-violent way (Gopin 2000: 4). I critiqued the work of Appleby and Gopin, two of the foremost authors on the role of religion in peace. They argue from a constructivist approach and highlight the potential value of the role of religion in conflict resolution, yet do not suggest a theoretical approach to this task for faith-based peace practitioners.

Section Two of Chapter one examined more specifically the role of faith in peacebuilding. The act of peacebuilding ranges from statebuilding; in which international organisations seek to develop the infrastructure and capacity of governments, and assist a move toward a democratic state; to grassroots community activities taking place within individual villages (Paris and Sisk 2009). As

with conflict our understanding of the factors that contribute towards peace are again dependent upon the conflict context and there is no simple 'peacebuilding prescription' for any situation. The role of faith in peacebuilding has until recently been largely ignored by the research and donor community (Alger 2002: 97), but research suggests that there are specific circumstances when faith-based peacebuilding is an appropriate means of engaging partner communities with the peacebuilding agenda. 'Religious' peacebuilding is identified as incorporating faith values and/or rituals, and/or sacred texts and is undertaken by faith actors with other faith actors (Kadayifci-Orellana 2009: 276).

Faith actors are able to engage with peacebuilding as 'mid-level' actors, and can work within their established networks to develop Track II peacebuilding initiatives. They have access to regional and national actors as well as to the grassroots through their faith constituencies. I comment specifically on the work of Lederach who has written much to underpin this theory of mid-level/Track II intervention. His writings have not however articulated the role that faith leaders could have in peacebuilding, although they are located at this level (Lederach 2005, 1996). Faith actors can be any individuals who plumb their respective faith traditions for insights into peaceful resolution of conflicts (Appleby 2000:6), or they can be faith-based organisations who are so inspired (Abu-Nimer and Kadayifci-Orellana 2008:6). Such organisations have legitimacy within the field for conducting peacebuilding, and this legitimacy is conferred on them by their status within the community (Gopin 2000:18). Faith actors can have a variety of peacebuilding roles, which can operate at Track I, II or III, and which were outlined in Chapter One.

Faith-based peacebuilding activities have their criticisms, the main one being the limited use of dialogue as a peacebuilding tool in post-conflict settings where there are socio-economic issues at the root of the conflict (Berghof Centre 2005: 31). A second criticism is the limited networking and cooperation that takes place between different FBDOs, and also FBDOs and secular NGOs.

In Section Three of Chapter Two I have examined the role of faith in development. I give a brief overview of development aid and outline the parameters in which this thesis operates. I then critique the work of three authors, Anderson, Goodhand and Rakodi. Anderson and Goodhand write specifically to the concept of conflict-sensitive development but make little mention of faith and conflict-sensitivity, or being sensitive to a faith context (Anderson 1999, Goodhand 2006).



Rakodi writes comprehensively on the increasing understanding of the role of faith in development practice, and on whether FBDOs have 'comparative advantage' over other organisations in development activities due to their faith status (Rakodi 2012b). Much of Rakodi's comments are pertinent to FBDOs engaged in peacebuilding, but she does not specifically comment upon their peacebuilding impact. These authors highlight the limited overlap between the fields of faith, development and peacebuilding. I then postulate a definition for faith-based development with peacebuilding impacts thus: for faith-based development peacebuilding activities to be undertaken, FBDOs must undertake these activities whilst engaging with faith leaders, faith communities or other faith-based organisations either through a 'secular' approach that is then legitimised by faith communities, or through a more 'spiritual' approach which is recognised as part of a faith tradition by partner communities.

A cautionary note to the legitimacy and practice of faith-based peacebuilding is that faith and religion are not 'ahistoric' concepts and that the impact of colonialism and imperialism in different conflict contexts may impair the legitimacy of some faith traditions to engage in faith-based peacebuilding (Omer 2012: 15).

Chapter Two concludes outlining the inadequate resources and capacity that many FBDOs experience, especially local FBDOs, and that this limited capacity impacts their training needs. FBDOs already experience issues with undertaking good quality development activities, they are struggling to incorporate 'Do No Harm' concepts (Leonhardt 2006: 53). This key role of FBDO's to engage in peacebuilding is hindered by issues of accountability, professionalism, capacity and accusations of proselytism (Lowilla 2006). In addition women have generally been excluded from a leadership role in FBDOs (Commonwealth Foundation 2008). Despite the appropriateness of FBDOs to engage in peacebuilding I have demonstrated that although there is significant research with regard to FBDOs, to conflict sensitive development and to peacebuilding, there is at present no theoretical framework for FBDOs to engage in inter-faith peacebuilding activity. The majority of research regarding FBDOs gives examples of initiatives that have been successful. It is suggested that this limits learning for peacebuilding initiatives and that further critical analysis highlighting patterns of religious peacebuilding efforts so that religious peacebuilding does not become uncritical or 'religion and conflict transformation' (Omer 2012: 18).

In Chapter Three I outlined my methodology and methods for testing my hypothesis. In order to understand transferable principles of faith-based peacebuilding I used a 'Most-Dissimilar' Case comparison analysis. I compared an International Christian NGO based in the UK and an inter-faith local organisation both of which were undertaking peacebuilding activities in Acholiland, Northern Uganda. The conflict area of Northern Uganda was chosen because the civil war had a 'faith' dimension, in that the conflict was not between different faith groups, but religious rhetoric was used to promote and justify the use of violence. The choice of NGOs was of key importance to the research as it highlighted differences in approach, theoretical principles and underlying theories of change. In addition to the 'Most-Dissimilar' Case comparison, I also undertook a mapping exercise of local and international FBDOs engaged in peace and conflict resolution activities in the same operating area as my two case comparison organisations. The purpose of the mapping exercise was to enable a greater understanding of the faith-based NGO context and approach to peacebuilding activities.

In Chapter Four I examined the NGO and faith context with regard to peace and conflict resolution, with particular reference to the additional 18 organisations mapped in Gulu and Kitgum areas. I analysed their activity against their role as a peacebuilding actor, and also against their level of faith engagement through their development and peacebuilding activities. This analysis suggested that of the 18 organisations identified only 4 local FBDOs had an identifiable level of engagement with faith communities, and a peacebuilding role. Which suggests that faith-based peacebuilding in Kitgum and Gulu is not normative amongst the NGO community, and would also suggest that it has very limited impact.

The case comparison was outlined in Chapter Five, and this analysis of the two organisations enabled an increase in understanding of local perspectives on change and peacebuilding in a faith context. As an Inter-faith organisation the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) engaged with the congregations of different faith groups around issues of communality, humanity and the human rights abuses that were experienced by all of these different groups as a result of the ongoing conflict. They built upon the moral authority held by religious leaders to act as advocates for their congregations, but also used religious scriptures to endorse the promotion of peace and a peaceful end to the violent conflict. Having developed legitimacy and authority as peacebuilders amongst their congregations they sought to continue working on issues of 'peace writ little' amongst returning refugees and ex-combatants. Most notably they concentrated upon

land dispute resolution and sexual violence. ARLPI used their moral legitimacy to introduce non-violent dispute resolution mechanism within communities over land disputes, and condemned the use of sexual gender based violence.

In contrast the INGO did not highlight faith as part of its peacebuilding activities, however, working through their local partners IYEP and KITWOBEE, the local NGOs were able to work towards inter-faith cohesion and understanding through their local knowledge and understanding of the conflict, the people involved, and the culture in which they lived. Their practice was sympathetic to local traditional cultural beliefs, and the faith world views held by the people they worked with. In addition the natural formation of groups including people from different faith backgrounds contributed to inter-faith cohesion as an indirect impact of improving communal solidarity.

As Chapter Five demonstrates, from the work of these organisations it became clear that Faith-Based Organisations are able to engage around issues of faith in a conflict and post-conflict context. Refining current development theory on conflict sensitivity to include faith engagement, FBDOs can be placed on a continuum of faith activity which begins at 'Do No Harm' through 'working in a faith context in a conflict setting' to 'working on a faith context in a conflict setting'. The definition of this concept refines the work of Anderson to analyse further the dividers and connectors that link people of faith within a context setting thus:

- 1) Do No Harm: Ensuring activities do not exacerbate tensions and dividers between faith groups and faith groups and traditional cultural practice, or damage local faith capacities for peace.
- 2) Working in a Faith Context: Ensuring activities do not exacerbate tensions and dividers between faith groups, and faith groups and traditional cultural practice, or damage local faith capacities for peace; and engaging with connectors and links between faith groups
- 3) Working on a Faith Context: Ensuring activities do not exacerbate tensions and dividers between faith groups, and faith groups and traditional cultural practice, or damage local faith capacities for peace; and engaging with connectors and links between faith groups; developing new connectors and enhancing local faith capacities for peace.

These definitions give an FBDO an opportunity to place itself on the spectrum of 'faith engagement'. All FBDO's and secular organisations should be working on a 'Do No Harm' approach as a basic minimum, which would be standard for all development conflict sensitive practice. This basic minimum would depend entirely upon the context in which the organisation is practising, and is predicated by the dividers and tensions that exist between the different faith communities. Furthermore, FBDOs could continue by examining their capacity to engage with faith in a peacebuilding context, and to place themselves further along the continuum. This positioning upon the spectrum is also entirely dependent upon the connectors that exist between faith communities and the local 'faith' capacities for peace. Additionally the organisations links with the different congregations, the analytical approach to project interventions, the capacity of the organisation and its potential role as a peacebuilder also significantly impact the location of an organisation upon this spectrum.

From the literature review and the case study material I was able to achieve the second research aim which was to develop a theoretical framework of reference for FBDOs working on inter-faith peacebuilding, and in Chapter Six I developed these theoretical principles. In developing a theoretical framework for engaging with faith there are a variety of other components that it is essential for FBDOs to consider as they seek to undertake development activities with peacebuilding impacts. The framework itself cannot be proscriptive, but rather it needs to enable FBDOs to place themselves and their development and peacebuilding activities in a context which can be reassessed and evaluated with regard to their impact upon faith-based peacebuilding. These components have to exist within the overall conflict context, and, within that context, a thorough and proper analysis of the dividers and tensions between different faith groups, and the connectors and faith capacities for peace has to be undertaken. The dividers and tensions, and the local faith capacities for peace need to be analysed regularly, and the impact of the development activity upon these dividers and connectors observed and measured.

The second component is the manner in which the FBDO seeks to engage with the faith context in which it is placed. At a minimum this needs to be a 'Do No Harm' approach to the faith relationships that already exist, however, FBDOs are in a unique position to place the organisation's activities along a continuum which includes deliberate efforts to engage with the local faith capacities for peace and enhance these through their development activities. However,

where the FBDO positions itself upon the spectrum is entirely dependent upon the first component, conflict context, and two other components; developmental activity, and role as a peacebuilding actor.

The third component is the developmental activity and the lens by which these activities are designed. Traditionally these have often been through a needs-based assessment of the local communities. However, I suggested in Chapter Six that there are four potential means of analyses for socio-economic activities which can be used to assist FBDOs. These include: Human Rights-Based approaches; Peace and Tolerance; Political and Cultural pluralism; and Social Justice and communal solidarity. These four approaches cover the gamut of development activity, and can be used to move towards all of the Millennium Development Goals currently being promulgated by the UN, EU and other international donors.

The fourth component is essential as development activity itself is only a gateway to peacebuilding and is not peacebuilding per se. For development activity to become peacebuilding the FBDO must take on a peacebuilding role (Paffenholz 2008). This role is to be incorporated into the development activity, and will vary depending upon the activity undertaken and the impact that this has upon dividers and connectors. The peacebuilding role that an FBDO can take may be one or more of the following: facilitation, monitoring/observing, advocating, socialisation, inter-faith cohesion, protection and mediation. These roles may vary through the course of the NGO's lifecycle dependent upon the conflict context, and may be influenced by the development activity. This role, as with the development activity, is also dependent upon the capacity of the FBDO.

These four components link together in the framework to enable FBDOs to engage with faith and faith congregations, to assist peace activists of faith, and to develop peacebuilding activities in a manner which is least likely to have negative impacts upon the peace and conflict dynamics. The relationship between them is dynamic: the conflict context, dividers and connectors set the framework for the peacebuilding activity. However, it is assumed that once the peacebuilding activity has begun it will impact the local capacities for peace. The FBDO is seeking a positive impact and if this is the case they may further develop the intervention. Should the impact upon the connectors be negative, and should the impact upon dividers entrench the divisions that exist,

then the development activity and the peacebuilding role of the FBDO needs to be re-assessed and altered accordingly. Equally, the FBDO can only engage with the connectors and local faith capacities for peace if the capacity exists within the organisation to do so. This analysis of the FBDOs ability to engage with grassroots faith congregations is also an essential component of the positioning of the FBDO, if little local engagement exists then the capacity for inter-faith peacebuilding is limited.

The final research question also considered the theoretical and practical issues that need to be considered in the development of a toolkit to assist FBDOs in inter-faith peacebuilding. I examined these issues in detail in Chapter Six as a component of the theoretical framework. The framework itself is a theoretical model to assist FBDOs in their work of peacebuilding in conflict areas where faith has been a component in the violence. It is a structure to offer assistance, but is not proscriptive. It is not an analytical tool in itself: the framework just points to the important areas that need to be analysed, and highlights the relationship of this information with the activities of the FBDO. However, the framework could be used to underpin the development of further tools for FBDOs working in conflict and post-conflict settings where faith is a normative part of culture. Further research regarding the use of the theoretical framework and subsequent tools is essential to examine the applicability of the framework across cultures and conflict contexts.

## **2.0 Conclusions**

The hypothesis I examined was: a theoretical framework for FBDOs is needed to underpin peacebuilding in conflict and post-conflict environments. Inter-faith peacebuilding through development activities is a role uniquely suited to FBDOs; this role would be enhanced through the establishment of a theoretical framework of reference with regard to appropriate levels of engagement with faith actors. In order to test this hypothesis I have outlined the existing theories of peacebuilding through development activities. I have demonstrated that FBDOs are a legitimate actor in this field, and in addition have ability, opportunity, motivation, and resources to undertake inter-faith peacebuilding in post-conflict areas where faith has been a component of the violence, or where there are faith-based actors who are willing and able to engage in peacebuilding activities. I have also demonstrated that despite the potential role that FBDOs have

to engage in faith-based peacebuilding few seek to undertake this role in their peacebuilding activities, as demonstrated in the mapping exercise of FBDOs in Northern Uganda.

Through the mapping exercise and 'Most-Dissimilar' case comparison I have identified two factors which indicate ability to engage in faith-based peacebuilding, which include level of faith engagement and demonstrable peacebuilding role during development activities. These and other components I have incorporated into a theoretical framework to assist faith-based organisations engage with issues of faith, and inter-faith cohesion, when undertaking peacebuilding through development activities. Through my field research I have asked and answered the following questions as set out below:

**Table 7.1 Evaluation of Research Questions:**

<b>Research Question</b>	<b>Evaluation of Answer</b>
<b>Question One:</b> a) How do practices for assisting other organisations develop conflict-sensitive activities relate to faith-based development organisations? B) Does work with faith actors in either faith-based or inter-faith peacebuilding require new guidelines?	There are a variety of practices for organisations to develop conflict-sensitive activities. However, these are not universally applied across organisations, and although they consider the role of faith as part of the culture of the community, the different practices do not endeavour to engage with faith issues or give an in-depth analysis of faith as a component in the peace and conflict dynamics. There are few guidelines to assist organisations engage with faith actors, and these guidelines do not have a theoretical underpinning.
<b>Question Two:</b> How do two specific faith-based organisations in Uganda relate to issues of faith and religion in the conflict context in which they are sited; what roles have they taken as peacebuilders within this context and how has this related to faith and religion? What is the faith-based peacebuilding culture in Northern Uganda?	The local and International organisation employed different strategies in engaging with local communities to promote peacebuilding activity. ARLPI acted as advocates and mediators, and CORD through its partners acted as facilitators and agents of socialisation. ARLPI has acted directly with faith communities and CORD has worked indirectly with people of faith to increase livelihood opportunities. These two organisations have highlighted two different approaches to faith-based peacebuilding which I have labelled as 'working in a faith context' and 'working on a faith context'. The work of these two organisations has been examined in the FBDO context in which they were located, and demonstrates the two different approaches to faith-based engagement undertaken by the two case comparison FBDOs. The mapping exercise demonstrated that there is little faith-based engagement with peacebuilding and that the use of faith as a peacebuilding tool is limited in scope and impact.
<b>Question Three:</b> What are the underlying theories of change	CORD's underlying theory of change relates to capacity building of local partners to engage in peacebuilding.



which guide the work of these organisations?	However ARLPI and CORD's local partners have more relational theories of change which include role-modelling, group support, and representation. These theories have been integral in project design and implementation.
<b>Question Four:</b> What are the significant changes that these organisations have brought into a situation and how have these impacted the factors that promote peace and conflict?	ARLPI has enabled inter-faith cohesion through its leadership approach, and as part of this has empowered women within the community and reduced violence due to land disputes. CORD through its partners have increased inter-faith cohesion and empowered community members to develop appropriate livelihoods. Both organisations have impacted 'peace writ little'. ARLPI has impacted 'Peace Writ Large', and IYEP may potentially have contributed to government efforts to impact 'PWL'. It is not clear from any of the organisations involved in the mapping exercise what significant changes have occurred as a result of their project activities.
<b>Question Five:</b> How can peacebuilding impacts upon faith attitudes, actions and behaviours be measured to enable appropriate engagement with FBDOs?	Indicators of change and their measurement need to be agreed with partner communities during project research and design stage. At this stage partner communities and implementing projects need to agree how these indicators will be measured and verified. Methods of measuring may include methodologies from 'Most Significant Change' or other forms of evaluation. Only 4 of the organisations mapped appeared to be engaging with issues of faith and seeking to have peacebuilding impacts upon faith attitudes, actions and behaviours through their engagement partner communities.
<b>Question Six:</b> What are the theoretical issues that need to be addressed for FBDOs engaged in inter-faith peacebuilding; and what	FBDOs need to work within a theoretical framework which gives shape to the faith-based work they are able to undertake. This framework needs to include their capacity as an organisation to engage with faith issues, the local faith capacities for peace, and the tensions which divide

theoretical and practical issues need to be considered in the development of a toolkit to assist FBDOs in inter-faith peacebuilding?	faith groups. The FBDO also should address their mode of development intervention alongside their role as a peacebuilding actor. Furthermore FBDOs need to operate within an ethical framework which not only includes full community participation, but encompasses an attitudinal approach to partner communities, and the willingness to incorporate local theories of change within project design and implementation.
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In answering these questions I have been able to develop a theoretical approach to Inter-Faith peacebuilding to assist FBDOs in their practice, and outlined the 'ethos' of applying any theoretical framework which is essential to assist the FBDO in developing its legitimacy with the partner community. In completing this research I have achieved the following contributions to the field as set out below:

**Table 7.2 Evaluation of Research Contributions and Aims**

<b>Contributions to Research</b>	<b>Evaluation of Achievements</b>
Chapter One and Two: To analyse and critique existing theories and practice of peacebuilding with regard to FBDOs and inter-faith peacebuilding activity	An analysis of a range of current academics and practitioners with regard to faith-based peacebuilding. I highlighted the limited availability of material specifically analysing faith-based or inter-faith peacebuilding and the lack of a theoretical framework for faith-based interventions.
Chapter Four and Five: To increase understanding of transferable principles of faith-based peacebuilding from specific case studies; and to increase understanding of local perspectives on change and peacebuilding in a faith context.	An in-depth case comparison of two NGOs demonstrated different approaches to peacebuilding within a faith context, and the different theories of change the actors employed in peacebuilding activities. A broad-based framework for faith-based intervention was identified in line with Anderson's 'Do No Harm' concept. An additional mapping exercise of 14 local and international organisations engaged in peacebuilding activity. This

	demonstrated that there is little evidence of peacebuilding impact by such organisations, and there is little engagement with faith as a component of peacebuilding.
Chapter Six: To develop theoretical principles for engaging in inter-faith peacebuilding, and to examine the practical difficulties and advantages in developing a toolkit for FBDOs engaged in peacebuilding.	Development of definitions for 'Do No Harm' in faith-based engagement. The identification of categories to consider in inter-faith peacebuilding and the positioning of these categories relationally upon a theoretical framework of faith engagement. Examination of some of the difficulties of application of a toolkit for FBDOs especially at the local context.
<b>Overall Research Aims</b>	<b>Evaluation of Achievements</b>
Main Aim: To strengthen analysis of conflict-sensitive approaches to inter-faith peacebuilding	Refining of existing theories of conflict-sensitive practice and extension of current theories to incorporate a faith-based analysis.
Secondary Aim: To develop a theoretical framework of reference for FBDOs working on inter-faith peacebuilding	Development of a theoretical framework for FBDOs to engage in inter-faith peacebuilding and outlining of practice-related issues for implementation.

## 3.0 Concluding Comments

### 3.1 Further Areas of Research

There remains further research in this area to be conducted. The theoretical framework was designed following an evaluation of the peacebuilding activities of two separate organisations which was used for a case comparison. Further research should be conducted into the use of the framework by FBDOs and the difficulties they experience in seeking to apply this theory to their practice. In particular, analysing the different peacebuilding roles in relation to the level of faith engagement may demonstrate areas where FBDOs are not realising their potential to engage in faith-based peacebuilding. Also, critically examining peacebuilding role and service delivery may highlight further good practice and enable learning in the development community.

There is growing research in the area of theories of change. However; there is little research into either faith-based theories of change, or the use of local theories of change in project design. Consequently examining faith-based theories of change for peacebuilding in a local context, and researching organisational and community learning from the incorporation of these theories into project design would be beneficial and contribute to development practice.

### **3.2 Implications and Observations**

I conclude this section with a number of observations regarding the implications of this research for FBDOs.

There are many toolkits in the development world, and it has been suggested that there are more than enough toolkits and that it is now time to analyse which tools are being used, how they are used, and to evaluate the lessons learned from their use. There is great merit in this argument. However, I dispute that there are sufficient tools and support for FBDOs to engage in this particular challenge and that there is room for further support in this area. Although existing toolkits mention working with faith leaders, they do not specifically highlight faith as a component for peace or conflict, or comment upon how inter-faith peacebuilding could be addressed. A further problem with the use of tools is that they are difficult to move from one context to another. To circumvent the issue of non-transferability authors highlight the manner in which a tool is used (Bush 2005b: 8). The appropriate use of a toolkit includes activities such as the full participation of all stakeholders. This participation is considered essential when using any tool. It is through full stakeholder engagement that tools can be amended as appropriate to the conflict context. Additional factors include the manner in which these tools are used, in that organisations should be approaching all situations with humility and a desire to learn from local communities (Paffenholz 2005).

Most importantly a key component to suitable appropriation of tools is the incorporation of local theories of change in the development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all project activities. The use of theories of change is a growing area in development activities. However, understanding the principles that underpin project logic are essential: especially of those theories that local stakeholders bring into the project design. These local theories of change are likely to

be relational and non-linear, and are more likely to involve complex social processes than those theories brought by organisations from the 'global north' (Eyben et al. 2008). When working with faith communities, these 'faith related' theories of change may be problematic for International FBDOs to incorporate, however as outlined in Chapters Five and Six the willingness and ability to engage with these theories is crucial for the success of any faith-based development initiative.

De Zeeuw outlined a framework to enable organisations to move from peacebuilding concept to strategy. This included: Mission statement; Post-Conflict Analysis; Policy and Capacity Assessment; Implementation of peacebuilding assistance; and Monitoring and Evaluation of peacebuilding assistance. I have modified this structure to use as a potential toolkit to assist FBDOs in their activities (2001: 31):

- Mission Statement
- Analysis and Assessment
- Faith Capacities
- Capacities of Organisation
- Participatory Intervention Design
- Participatory Intervention Evaluation and Monitoring

The development of any toolkit to assist FBDO's could be based upon this structure, and would need to be enabling and empowering for any organisation whether an International FBDO or a local faith-based association. It is only through the development of such a toolkit, its testing on the field, and subsequent learning from its use, will the effectiveness and practicality of such a toolkit become clear.

For most international organisations it is often the 'ethos' of participatory peacebuilding which causes difficulties due to lack of capacity in the field. The issue of 'ethical' inter-faith peacebuilding may also be problematic for some international faith-based development organisations for similar reasons to secular organisation, and because they believe their faith has unique 'Truth' claims. All of the positions on the spectrum of faith engagement also imply that organisations should not be involved in proselytism as part of their work. Where an organisation is seeking to engage in proselytism, this framework would suggest that any development activities not be undertaken in areas where faith is a key element in the conflict context. The

Anglican Church has highlighted five marks of mission, three of these marks are: caring for the environment; responding to human need; and transforming unjust structures in society (Anglican Communion 2012). In this way mission agencies involved in development activities can engage in inter-faith peacebuilding as they still are working under the criteria of 'mission' but without necessarily including proselytism. Islam, which is also a missionary faith, includes acts of service to those in need of support as part of its theological underpinnings. In this manner 'missionary organisations' can be involved in inter-faith peacebuilding through development activities without necessarily engaging in proselytism, but still having integrity as a mission organisation.

The ethical use of this framework and any toolkit will be much less problematic for local NGOs. These NGOs are already much closer to the community and already embedded within the population. Local NGOs are likely to have greater links with local faith congregations, and will be far more aware of all the contributory conflict and peace factors into any conflict setting. Where Local NGOs will struggle is through a lack of capacity in human resources and funding capability. This lack of capacity may have implications for the various analyses and assessments that are essential for peacebuilding project design. Local NGOs may also struggle with technical know-how and peacebuilding knowledge and expertise.

I suggest that international Faith-Based Development Organisations who are seeking to engage in inter-faith peacebuilding are well placed to support local FBDOs, to partner with them through capacity development and approaching the task of inter-faith peacebuilding together. Smock states that International Organisations cannot hope to undertake peacebuilding activities unless they are working with local partners (Smock 2001: 35). In this manner an International FBDO can place itself further along the spectrum than 'Do No Harm' and at the same time ably assist Local FBDOs who will have the much greater connections and local understanding by far. ARLPI did receive support from one major international FBDO, but generally other FBDOs appeared reticent to support their work, which was believed to be due to the inter-faith nature of their activities.<sup>78</sup> However they did receive support from secular international donors such as DFID. In this manner INGOs from a secular background could also partner with local FBDOs and support the work of inter-faith peacebuilding at a local level, enabling this important aspect of peacebuilding to be supported, and to assist with issues of transparency and accountability. USAID have recognised

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<sup>78</sup> Interview, 2010, Respondent 7

the value of FBOs and FBDOs in the role of peacebuilding and are encouraging staff to pursue actively faith-based peacebuilding activities (Moberg, Hunsicker and Walker 2009: 1).

Faith-Based Development organisations are in a unique position in the development world to engage with faith congregations in conflict areas, especially where faith has been a component in promulgating violence. FBDOs have a number of strengths, and are faced with a number of challenges which threaten their legitimacy in the field of inter-faith peacebuilding. I posit that the framework for engagement could be an enabling tool which gives FBDOs the ability to develop a theoretical position from which they can research, design and implement development interventions with peacebuilding impacts in a context where faith is a normative part of culture.

At this point in history faith is an increasingly important factor in the culture and practice of many billions of people in the world. Faith and religion have also played a role in the justification of violence toward the 'other' in many of the intra-state conflicts that have arisen, however there are many men and women of faith who have sought to act upon the peace ethic within their faiths and to develop understanding, peace and reconciliation between different groups. FBDO's are suitably placed to strengthen, support and empower individuals, groups, organisations (Goodhand 2006) and communities as they seek to access the resources for peacebuilding that are found within faith communities. FBDOs at this point need to embrace the challenge that is before them and in so doing they need the support of academics, theorists, practitioners and each other to step up to the task. At present it appears that apart from some notable exceptions FBDOs are failing to meet this challenge. The theoretical framework for faith engagement could provide a means for FBDOs to consider their response to faith-based peacebuilding in a post-conflict setting where faith is a normative part of culture, and the toolkit contributes significantly to the current theory and practice available in the field to assist FBDOs in this role of peacebuilding.

## **Appendix One: PCIA Questionnaire**

### **1. Timing:**

- a) At what point in the conflict did the intervention occur? (before, during (early/mid/late or after?))
- b) What has been the intensity of conflict in the project site?
- c) Did the project coincide with other projects in the region/country that might help or hinder its progress?
- d) Was it possible to identify or anticipate "external" political/economic/security developments that might affect the project positively or negatively?

### **2. Political Context:**

- a) What was the level of political support for the project locally, regionally and nationally?
- b) What was the nature of formal political structures conditioning relations between the state and civil society (authoritarian, "transitional," partially democratic; democratic, decentralized, participatory, corrupt, predatory), and what are their possible impacts?
- c) Did the project involve politically sensitive or volatile issues (directly or indirectly)?

### **3. Other Salient Factors Affecting the Impact of the Conflict on the Project:**

- a) institutional context;
- b) leadership;
- c) colonial legacy;
- d) cultural factors; Spiritual context
- e) national and international political economic factors such as economic infrastructure.
- f) Are there minimally predictable political, legal, and security structures in place?

### **4. Theories of Change**

- a) What were the underlying causes for the conflict that the project was trying to address?  
How did the project intend to address these underlying causes?



b) What were local and community-based understandings of the conflict? How did they think these could be addressed? Did the project take local theories into account in its design?

## **5. Infrastructure:**

- a) What were the infrastructural conditions at the time of the project?
- b) How did the project work within existing infrastructural conditions, or
- c) How did it contribute to the development of such infrastructure?

## **6. Peace Ecology:**

a) Were there other factors in place promoting peace?

- government
- local leadership
- community members
- economic factors
- social linkages

b) What were the factors promoting violence?

- government
- local leadership
- community
- economic factors
- social linkages

## **7. Resources**

a) Did the proposed project have the right mix of the right resources?

- financial
- personnel
- community support
- elder/community leader support
- government support
- physical materials

## 8. Organisational Issues

- a) Did the lead organization have experience or a comparative advantage in the region?
- b) What were the proposed project's "tolerance levels"? What is the tolerance level (and institutional capacity) of your organization and project to respond to:
  - uncertainty;
  - project indeterminacy;
  - risk;
  - losses (in human and material terms);
  - set backs,
  - incremental progress, and change?
- c) What contingency plans were fashioned to avoid the avoidable, and respond to the unavoidable?
- d) Are suitable personnel available? The need for qualified personnel applies at all levels of a project, from the head quarters to the field — with particular emphasis on the latter.
- e) What was the level of political support for the proposed project?
- f) Did the proposed project have the trust of all authorities able to stymie your efforts?
- g) Did the proposed project have the trust, support, and participation of the community?
- h) Was there:
  - a continuity of personnel to make a learning process more feasible;
  - a network of supportive, committed persons in a variety of positions;
  - avoidance of partisan political involvement
  - the right kind of community leadership; and
  - demonstration going beyond narrow conceptions of self-interest.
- i) Was the project be sustainable? Does it possess the ability to generate the resources necessary for continuation or transformation of project?
- j) Did it have the ability to weather negative political events?

## 9. Indicators of Change

Where did the community state they would like to see significant change with regard to:

- a) Security Indicators: anything to do with physical harm, or imprisonment and detention, or military activity

- b) Psychological Indicators: perceptions of violence towards self or community, toward other groups within the community; or tolerance of political/cultural/religious difference.
- c) Social Indicators: freedoms to express cultural/religious/political differences; freedom of thought/marriage/assembly/relationship.
- d) Political Indicators: public participation; multi-communal parties; free and fair elections; emergency rule; influence on public policy.
- e) Spiritual Indicators: Inter-faith activity, Spiritual contributions to the conflict, blessings or curses.
- f) Judicial Indicators: protection of human rights; due process, individual rights; prosecution of criminals; restorative justice techniques, traditional dispute resolution techniques.
- g) Gender Indicators: women's access to employment, education, judicial process, protection from sexual violence.
- h) Resource Indicators: Access to livelihoods, health facilities; economic sustenance; food security; reduction of socio-economic tensions.

Of the changes highlighted, how did they relate to each other? Did they support or undermine each other?

## 10. Evaluation Questions

- a) Did the projects understanding of the causes of conflict change during project implementation?
  - In what way?
- b) How did the project seek to impact the desired indicators of change?
- c) How has the project affected the desired indicators of change?
  - Security
  - Psychological
  - Social
  - Political
  - Spiritual
  - Judicial
  - Gender
  - Resource

- d) How did these factors inter-relate with each other during the project cycle?
- e) Did the project affect organizational capacity of individuals, or collectivities (institutions, social groups, private sector) — positively or negatively— to identify and respond to peace and conflict challenges and opportunities? Which groups? To what degree? How and why? Is this change sustainable? Will it continue after donor funding has left? How does it impact upon other similar activities, do they complement each other?
- f) Did the project increase or decrease the capacity to imagine, articulate and bring about realities that nurture rather than inhibit peace?
- g) What were the obstacles to a positive peacebuilding impact?
- h) How might the beneficial effects have been amplified/made more sustainable both during and following the project?
- i) How might the different inter-related factors have supported each other? How might these factors have undermined each other?

## **11. Unexpected Learning**

- a) What were the unexpected positive outcomes from the project? How did they link with other factors? How could they be replicated?
- b) What were the unexpected negative outcomes from the project? Could these have been predicted? How could they be minimised?

## **12. Most Significant Change**

- a) What did project staff consider to be the most significant change as a result of this intervention?
- b) What did community members consider to be the most significant change as a result of this intervention?
  - Elders
  - Community members
  - Women
- c) Why were these changes considered significant?
  - are these changes sustainable (likely to continue, in harmony with other changes?)
- d) What can be implied about the intervention from these stories of change?

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## Appendix 2: Table of Respondents

Respondent No.	Gender/Age	Description	Geographic Location
1	M >35	Beneficiary of local project	Gulu
2	M >35	Beneficiary of local project	Gulu
3	F >35	Beneficiary of local project	Gulu
4	M >35	Beneficiary of local project	Gulu
5	F <35	Beneficiary of local project	Gulu
6	F >35	Beneficiary of local project	Gulu
7	M >35	Leader within local project	Gulu
8	M <35	Staff member of local project	Gulu
9	M >35	Head of international organisation	International
10	M >35	Board member of international organisation	International
11	M <35	Staff member of local project	Gulu
12	F <35	International worker within local project working in Traditional justice mechanisms	International/Gulu
13	F >35	Board member of local project	Kitgum
14	F >35	Board member of local project	Kitgum
15	F >35	Board member of local project	Kitgum
16	F >35	Board member of local project	Kitgum
17	F <35	Staff member of local project	Kitgum
18	F >35	Beneficiary of local project	Kitgum
19	F >35	Beneficiary of local project	Kitgum
20	M >35	Beneficiary of local project	Gulu

## **Appendix Three: Additional Questions for Field Interviews**

### **3.1 Questions for ARLPI**

#### **3.1.1 Leadership Questions**

- 1) How did you decide to form as a group?
- 2) How did you get permission to engage with other faith leaders on this matter and what was the process like?
- 3) How did you manage to attract the attention of the government?
- 4) How do you decide upon your main aims and strategy?
- 5) How does the women's empowerment strategy work?
- 6) How would you describe the Acholi's spiritual life? How do they see the world?
- 7) What support do you get from your own denominations?
- 8) What links did you make with other faith-based organisations?
- 9) What links did you make with 'secular' organisations?
- 10) Can you tell me why did you think this will work? What do you think has brought about the change?
- 11) What do you see as the original cause of the violence?
- 12) Do you think this has changed now?
- 13) As a result of ARLPI's work in these communities, what do you think has been the most significant change in the quality of people's lives?
- 14) Can you tell me about an incident that you have seen that highlights that change?
- 15) Why is this change significant to you?

#### **3.1.2 Staff**

1. How did you get involved in ARLPI?
2. How do you decide what work you are going to get involved in?
3. How would you describe the Acholi's spiritual life? How do they see the world?
4. What links did you make with other faith-based organisations?
5. What links did you make with 'secular' organisations?

6. Can you tell me why did you think this will work? What do you think has brought about the change?
7. What do you see as the original cause of the violence?
8. Do you think this has changed now?
9. As a result of ARPLIs work in this community, what do you think has been the most significant change in the quality of people's lives in this community?
10. Can you tell me about an incident that you have seen that highlights that change?
11. Why is this change significant to you?

## **3.2 Questions for CORD and Partners**

### **3.2.1 CORD**

1. How did we develop our relationship with F.O.N.U?
2. What happened to that relationship?
3. What assessment did you make of FoNU as a partner?
4. What was the strategy for intervention in Uganda?
5. Why did you choose KITWOBE and IYEP?
6. How did you think these projects would bring about change?
7. What was your understanding of the conflict situation at this point?
8. What was your understanding of the Acholi and their spirituality at this point?
9. What impact did you think that the KITWOBE project would have upon it?
10. What was the ability of CORD to tolerate change within the projects?
11. What were the contingency plans if a) there was no funding? b) the projects for which we had funding had to change significantly? C) violent conflict resumed?
12. What political support was there for these projects?
13. Could the project have been stopped by any authority in the field? Was that likely?
14. How supported were these projects by the local community?
15. Has there been any formal evaluation of the work of KITWOBE or of IYEP?
16. I know FoNU also suggested working with ARPLI was there any reason why we didn't pursue this potential partnership at this time?
17. Have you sought particularly to work with people of faith in the field?
18. As a result of N's work in this community, what do you think has been the most significant change in the quality of people's lives in this community?



19. Can you tell me about an incident that you have seen that highlights that change?
20. Why is this change significant to you?

### **3.2.2 FONU**

1. Can you tell me how the Friends of Northern Uganda came into being?
2. What are the guiding aims or principles of FoNU
3. How does FoNU operate?
4. What is your assessment of the situation in Northern Uganda
5. How do you choose the work you want to support in Northern Uganda?
6. I see that ARLPI are one of the groups that you support, how was contact established with ARLPI initially?
7. What change did you think these projects would make?
8. Why did you decide to try to partner with CORD in supporting this work?
9. Did Cord's faith background have any bearing on your decision to seek to partner with them in this?

### **3.2.3 IYEP**

1. What do you think was/is the underlying cause of the conflict in Northern Uganda?
2. What was the aim of your project?
3. Did you think that it might contribute to peace and why?
4. Has religion inspired IYEP in their work?
5. How did the project work?
6. As a result of your work in this community, what do you think has been the most significant change in the quality of people's lives in this community?
7. Can you tell me about an incident that you have seen that highlights that change?
8. Why is this change significant to you?

### **3.2.4 KITWOBEE**

1. What do you think was/is the underlying cause of the conflict in Northern Uganda?
2. What was the aim of your project?
3. Did you think that it might contribute to peace and why?

4. Has religion inspired Kitwobee in their work?
5. How do people get to become bee-keepers?
6. What have you seen change as a result of the work you have done?
7. As a result of N's work in this community, what do you think has been the most significant change in the quality of people's lives in this community?
8. Can you tell me about an incident that you have seen that highlights that change?
9. Why is this change significant to you?

### **3.3 Questions For All Beneficiaries**

4. What is the 'Most Significant Change' that you have seen as a result of the project intervention?
5. From your experience can you tell me a story that demonstrates this change?
6. Why is this change significant to you?

## Appendix Four: Research Questions for Faith-Based Development Organisations in Northern Uganda - ARLPI

1. How would you describe your organisation?

An Inter-faith peacebuilding and conflict transformation organization, formed in response to the conflict in northern Uganda in 1997

ARLPI is an interfaith organization that works for peace and development by transforming violent conflict through dialogue, negotiation, mediation and reconciliation in order to promote sustainable peacebuilding and development in Northern Uganda.

2. What was your organisations initial motivation to become involved in peacebuilding?

because it affected all the people in this community, whatever denomination or religion, if you are in Northern Uganda, you are affected. The idea came as an attempt to rescue the situation the people were in. The purpose was an attempt to rescue the people in this situation. Where people had lost lives, were in IDP camps, children abducted, taken by force for being soldiers, women raped, and a number of atrocities happened in the communities. ARL001

These were both Christians and Muslims. They were proactively responding to the LRA conflict with the aim of bringing it to an end using non violent means.

ARLPI remains committed in pursuing peaceful means to end the LRA conflict in the region, and to lobby for funds to implement grass root programmes in the aftermath of the LRA conflict in the Northern Uganda. NGO Directory

3. Do you think of yourself as a faith-based organisation?

Yes, inter-faith nature of the work is key to its success. Working with all groups and denominations. The chairmen of the work, the Archbishop has great love for inter-faith activities, more so than for the Catholic church. Many times he has lobbied for more money for the work, and secondly the way he can act. If there's an issue for ARPLI he will come in on his day off. The message that he gives out is of all religions working together. He was quoted by the President, who said that he believes in negotiation because of Archbishop Odama. ARS001

4. What motivates your organisations development activities?

To engage with post-conflict issues that lead to violence such as Domestic violence, SGBV and land disputes. The core team of the Bishops and the Qadi decide on what work will take place (ARL001)

Driven by values and practice: religion; peace, unity and love of mankind; sanctity of human life; justice, equality and fairness; honesty, transparency, accountability and responsibility; Respect for all who are different from us; culture of non-violence.

To unite as believers in God Almighty in order to mobilise the people of Acholi for peace and development

(b) To advocate for social justice and human rights

(c) To train in conflict analysis, conflict transformation and undertake community peacebuilding

(d) To foster the spirit of peaceful co-existence among different communities in Acholiland and with the neighbours

(e) To work collaboratively with the local leaders, members of parliament, local and international NGOs and all community base stakeholders to promote the culture of dialogue as a basis for resolving and transforming conflicts within communities.

(f) To undertake any other activities which may contribute to the creation and promotion of love, harmony, forgiveness, reconciliation, healing and peace.<sup>317</sup> (Ochola)

5. What do you think is important about the work that you do?

If human life is touched, if this change continues, people will return to normal life. Some of the people behave bad due to trauma, there is some trauma, if goes back to normal life, no gunshots, no bad news of killing or abductions, then people will be normal. ARS001

The practice of religion in Uganda after independence was that all aligned with political groups. E.g the Anglicans sided with the UPC and the Catholics with others. So when people are on different sides, they always believe that their side is the better. Politics is about winning, and as religion has joined that queue it has led to conflicts. There were many religious conflicts in the 60's and 70's. Which were responsible for many deaths. When Idi Amin Dada took over it was a difficult time for the catholics and Anglicans. Muslims were violent when the Asian's left, they became violent and powerful which exacerbated the conflict. In 1979 when Amin was overthrown people hunted and killed Muslims. The government and the community targeted Muslims. They had to go into exile, and they lost their homes and land. I see inter-faith as one way of combining different circles, that give links and develops a movement for religions. It can also influence politics. We're all human beings. We're less different than we are the same. Religion has led the way in this. ARL001

6. What are your main funding streams?

Care International, CRS, MM Holland, UNHRS, IRCU, Conciliation Resources, Mennonite Central Committee

2011 165,000US\$ Expenditure – between 200million and 1 billion USH

7. Do you consider faith to be pro-peace or pro-violence in this context?

There has been an increase in faith denominations accepted as part of the governing council to include Seventh Day Adventists and Pentecostals alongside the Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant and Muslim links already. Despite the use of religious rhetoric to engage bush fighters with the conflict and the pursuit of the 10 commandments it appears that faith and religion in this context are pro-peace.

8. Have you considered working with faith congregations, or other faith actors to promote peace? Why?

Works extensively with other faith groups, increasing membership, using religion and symbolism, using scripture to provide moral legitimacy, and working actively with faith leaders, and congregations. Because everyone is human and everyone was suffering under the LRA and the military conflict.

Hold joint prayer and commemoration ceremonies around massacres and other events.

9. What faith communities or actors do you work with indirectly/directly as part of your work?

Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim, Pentecostal, Seventh Day Adventist, Anglican, and African Traditional Religions – though ATR is not part of the council the traditional practices of reconciliation are incorporated into reconciliation ceremonies.

10. How do you develop your links with partner communities?

Work with religious, cultural, and administrative leaders within communities, working around land disputes.

11. What difficulties have you experienced when working with faith congregations in your work?

Not all Christians have been open to working with Muslim groups, and not all faith-based organisations have wanted to work with Muslims groups or with Traditional reconciliation practices (ARL001)

12. In your preparation to begin a project do you consider how your work might impact faith relations?

Yes, the work is focussed on bringing faith leaders and hence faith communities together for social development.

13. What difficulties do you experience as a local organisation in your working context?

Very few faith-based organisations willing to work with them except CRS at first.

Throughout our work, we are challenged by administrative overhead costs to run the offices and programmes which are hard to meet. There are high expectations from the community. The collapse of the peace talks in Juba and confirmed military operations in Congo, C.A.R and S. Sudan NGO Directory

14. Has your opinion of other faiths changed as a result of your organisations work?

The leaders see inter-faith work as the most important aspect of peacebuilding in Northern Uganda.

15. Has your organisations attitude to working with faith groups changed as a result of your work?

## Appendix Five: Research Questions for Faith-Based Development Organisations in Northern Uganda - CORD

1. How would you describe your organisation?

The line we use now is we're an organisation inspired by the Christian faith.

2. What was your organisations initial motivation to become involved in peacebuilding?

It happened around 2006, and was part of a strategic review process to maintain our relevancy. One of the challenges was as an agency working with refugees solely funded by UNHCR it was a business model we couldn't maintain. So we looked at more of a sustainable model. Some of that was bringing my peacebuilding experience in. So also worked with refugees, one of the challenges is that you start to see the refugees as one of the people that have problems that need solving. The reality is that people continue to be displaced because of conflicts, and so the problem for us became violent conflict, and the solution is peacebuilding and not that refugees have education and livelihoods and are fed in their displacement and so became a longer term commitment. It was very pragmatic, with a lot of theology behind it, but it came together, it was an enable for it. It's also been challenging bringing the supporters along who are 'here to help', it's more complex than that. Wanting people to recognise their problems and work on them, that's what we're working on not some of the economic impact.

Compassion is very cultural, combined with the power of I need to be helpful to someone else which gives them power over them Hence work on peace through partnership.

3. Do you think of yourself as a faith-based organisation?

See above

4. What motivates your organisations development activities?

On a simple level a vision of a more peaceful more just world which does tie into that Shalom peace in the bible, and that's the story we use.

I'd say that staff and the teams do gather round the concept that we can make a difference and part of the motivation is to do something about ht injustice and seeing peaceful good relationships between Government and civil society and individuals.

It would be difficult to say that it was the love of God because so many individuals come for different reasons. It motivates some. When it comes to doing the work we can't say that. Strongly linked to God's kingdom and a

peaceful kingdom. All of us will have an understanding of this to various degrees. We're looking at increasing faith literacy. That will help people understand the motivations.

5. What do you think is important about the work that you do?  
It's strongly prioritises local voice. Without the peace impact everything else, any other intrusion in the social welfare or economic development is likely to fail in the medium longer term. Because it's focused on relationship.

6. What are your main funding streams?  
Institutional donors 80% broader base. 7 agencies are now in over £100,000 a year and 20% from private individuals, (many of historical donors are Christian but may be broader now) This is a challenge to some of our longer term supporters that it's now less Christian. A lot of it is trying to get everyone involved in peacebuilding as a process. You don't have to be a Christian to do that. The people that have those positions tend to have very strong positions.

7. Do you consider faith to be pro-peace or pro-violence in this context?

Pro-peace in this context, particularly looking at the work of ARLPI, it was pro-peace overall. There are always people using in to distort. The guys from that would have a very distorted view of Islam and Christianity used to justify their own position and battles that they're carrying out. But that's a bit of a cop out. There were certainly very many faithful people using it as a positive. But people using violence were also using faith as a justification. As a Christian we would say they were abusing it, as it doesn't tie in with our understanding of the Christian faith.

To deal with the history as well and the past of colonialism and the crusades in Uganda the practices of the UK government there also played very poorly into the conflict context. That led to where we are. For many that was seen as a Christian Government nation doing that. Though it wouldn't be my portrayal.

8. Have you considered working with faith congregations, or other faith actors to promote peace? Why?  
Simply yes, depending on the context it's part of helping the otherside understand each other. It's one of the ways we're looking at increasing faith literacy, because their leaders have a strong power on the mindsets on people. You get a much quicker buy in in terms of what's a good development activity, or how you should go about resolving conflict. We have to grapple and engage with making that context relevant. That's why it's important for us. A number of leaps almost of thinking, when trying to reach people groups, the degree of difference between the cultures there are so many difference that we've learned over the years.



If you get local leaders of the world view and who are influential and get them talking about peace in values that they understand then we can work far more easily together than if we come from a western Christian mindset which may have a lot of things that are very unhelpful for local cultures.

9. What faith communities or actors do you work with indirectly/directly as part of your work?

Talked with ARLPI, but not directly engaging with faith communities, so indirectly, and will work with local partners irrespective of faith.

10. How do you develop your links with partner communities?

Being present, talking to others about what we want to do and who they would recommend us to go and talk to. We went with others that knew others and asked to meet local leaders and governors and asked questions about who was doing what, over the end of the time we were being recommended to talk to people we'd already spoken to and recruited someone to build on those relationships.

11. What difficulties have you experienced when working with faith congregations in your work?

12. In your preparation to begin a project do you consider how your work might impact faith relations?

Not at this point, we hadn't considered it, it was 2006, just into CORD's thinking and learning. Now it would be considered, and looking at the conflict sensitivity assessments, now it would be brought in.

13. What difficulties do you experience as a local organisation in your working context?

The two biggest difficulties were local capacity of staff, and financial resources. It's a really messy nasty conflict which doesn't fit nicely into whose the victim and who's not. When you have child soldiers, when they're committing brutality, how many years on in that conflict is that story so uncomfortable for them to think about. That's a huge challenge. You can go into Rwanda with Tutsi and Hutu that's more simple story.

14. Has your opinion of other faiths changed as a result of your organisations work?

Yes, experience on appreciating other faiths and listening to their thinkers. Realising that you don't understand the conflict and my understanding, when

you start working with people of other faiths you have a much better appreciation of their understanding of their appreciation of the divine and god and the sacred. And we've developed more interfaith prayer material, so if you can first appreciate someone else and see the richness and depth of their thinking, and realise how you're perceived by others as well, that is a huge richness to my own faith. It's not, it's sometimes tough as it questions my personal assumptions, I've learned more about understanding the teachings of Jesus than by not engaging with other faiths. It's hard work but you can appreciate it, but that's not always comfortable. I have found some answers in these things, especially a few years ago. Have to be careful who you're talking. That comes back to our own identity and how we're perceived by the others. Like any good counsellor you have to go on your own journey and understand your own biases before you can be fully effective.

15. Has your organisation's attitude to working with faith groups changed as a result of your work?

It's in the process of changing. The organisation as a whole, there's a 120 people and there will be every position within that. The majority are really appreciative of the use and a more diverse understanding of faith, others who've been around a long time have resisted that and are now feeling a little more uncomfortable with that. There's quite a strong appreciation of this is where we're at. Most of the time they enjoy the challenge.

We have now a Muslim working for us in the UK office and he joins us in prayers, which we really appreciate. A lot more people do come to prayers now and they are a much broader flavour. They are now more meditative Catholic, Quaker approaches, the flow of praying out loud and feeling moved by the spirit, that felt very difficult for some Christians previously.

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